

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

Is there to be a serious reaction from Modernism? Or are we arriving at that middle position which so often occurs between two extremes? If one reads the history of human thought one finds a constant swing of the pendulum. One age seizes a half-truth, the succeeding age seizes the other half, and then there is a reconciliation in a third age. And the process goes on *ad infinitum*. We passed out of the age of orthodoxy a generation or more ago, and for the past thirty or forty years we have been living under the guidance of 'modern thought.' Are we due for a great reconciliation? In any case, it is worth while setting down in plain terms the case which traditional opinions makes against Modernism. It is neither so feeble nor so negligible as many take for granted.

To take the most important and most deadly criticism first, it is said that Liberalism in theology is singularly barren. It is no 'gospel.' It is suitable only for the minority of intellectuals. What has it to say to the prodigal, the down-and-out, the submerged tenth, the people to whom the Salvation Army appeals and whom the Army succeeds in saving? All the great revivals, it is said, have happened on the basis of 'the old gospel.' All the conversions we hear about to-day are in circles where the old gospel is preached. What kind of message has Modernism to present to those without much intellect (the great majority), and to those whose mind and soul are overlaid with the flesh and the devil?

The Modernist cannot very easily turn the point of all this, even if he is sceptical of the worth of many 'conversions.' One of the most brilliant of America's advanced and critical scholars confessed lately that this criticism has, as a matter of fact, been justified by the barrenness of liberal theology. He does not admit that the modern critical believer has no message for the 'lost,' but he says that as a matter of actual fact the liberal theologian has given the impression that he has no positive message by his emphasis on the negative side of his attitude. And he pleads for a more direct and simple affirmation by Modernism of its positive beliefs.

We may admit, then, that Modernism will need more and more to put forward its positive message for mankind. In an article in the new *Modern Churchman*, the Rev. Herbert EDMONDS, Rector of St. John's, Manchester, endeavours to do this. He is aware of the reproach levelled against Modernism, and he states its positive message in plain terms. This includes the Fatherhood of God, the clear recognition of sin and of the necessity of the grace of God, the fact of Christ as the Mediator and Interpreter of both God and man, and the certainty of immortality.

It is just in regard to the most important of them all, the nature and mission of Christ, that the second criticism is levelled against the Modernist teacher. The Fundamentalist asks (and he is not alone in this), 'Was Jesus Christ the Eternal Son

of God? Did His death effect anything at all *erga Deum*? Is the Holy Spirit a Person? And is Christianity a miraculous, supernatural event?' These are the matters about which the ordinary Christian cares. He wants to know whether the ministry of Jesus was the ministry of God in the flesh, and whether he can thus believe that God has actually broken in on our world-system in a miraculous way. If the answer is negative or vague or hedged about with explanations to the effect that Modernism does not say miracles cannot happen, it only says they have not happened, he feels that the main barrier between faith and negation has disappeared.

In all these matters Modernism has its answer. And perhaps as good an answer as could be wished will be found in Bishop BARNES's new book, reviewed in another column. We are not taking the side of the Fundamentalist in this note. But the other side is so often stated, and the plain man who clings to tradition is so inarticulate that it is of some moment to put into words what he says to himself and what he feels about things. And the moral is plain. It is of the utmost urgency that the relation of the Christian Church to the great facts of faith should be defined, and the real effect of modern discovery and modern critical thought on Christian belief should be stated, so that the plain man may know where he is and on what he is standing. In other words, the Church must *teach*, and must *affirm*, what it believes to be true. Only thus will it secure confidence and power for its great mission among men.

It is good to remind ourselves from time to time of our no less than infinite debt to the past. It is a truism more widely acknowledged than acted upon that the present cannot even be understood without some acquaintance with the past. We are where and what we are because of the thoughts that were cherished, and the work that was done, and the institutions that were slowly wrought out in ages long gone by, and by our unremembered or too little remembered ancestors.

As a contribution to the recognition of our indefeasible debt to the past, the Clarendon Press of Oxford, which has long been famous for the ripe scholarship and the practical value of the books which it has issued, recently published two volumes of unusual interest on 'The Legacy of Greece' and 'The Legacy of Rome' respectively, and they have wisely followed this up by an equally valuable volume on *The Legacy of Israel* (10s. net). This continues in a sense the volume published two or three years ago, and noticed at length in these columns, on 'The People and the Book,' which dealt more specifically with the history and religion of the Old Testament period and with the problems raised by that great literature, whereas this volume deals with the history, the literature, and the influence of the Jews from the close of that period to our own day.

The book was planned by that erudite and lovable scholar Dr. I. ABRAHAMS, who did not live to see its completion, and it has been edited by Dr. E. R. BEVAN and Dr. Charles SINGER, who also make substantial and notable contributions to its pages. It is a sign of the magnanimous and unsectarian spirit in which the project was conceived and carried out that Christian as well as Jewish voices are heard throughout the volume. This is as it should be; for the legacy of Judaism, as this volume abundantly proves, is a legacy to the whole world, and very particularly to the Christian world. And, as one of the writers points out, the Jewish legacy is not one which was bequeathed once and for all, to be appropriated and assimilated by us moderns as a gift from the olden time, but it is a legacy which all down the ages, and to-day no less than ever, is still being imparted by Jews to those who have ears to hear. It is indeed as much leaven as legacy.

The Christian world has by no means always been as grateful as it should have been for that legacy. For centuries it repaid its benefactors with the blackest ingratitude and with persecution as cruel as it was disgraceful. It is too much to expect that a people of so intensely ethical a passion as the Jews should have been led to embrace a religion

which was commended to them by methods so atrocious. Of the book entitled 'The Valley of Weeping,' the Rev. R. T. HERFORD in one of the Essays remarks that 'the story of horror is told with a dull monotony in which all separate incidents are merged in one long agony of grief.' In other books incidents are recorded without remark which are beyond belief and intolerable to quote. 'That the Jews could endure under centuries of such treatment is proof of the influence of their religion upon them, when they could have saved themselves at once by giving up the struggle and being baptized.'

The rich variety of the book, which is introduced in a 'Prologue' by the Master of Balliol, will be sufficiently obvious from the Table of Contents. It is opened by a characteristically eloquent chapter on 'The Hebrew Genius as exhibited in the Old Testament,' by Sir George Adam SMITH, marked by all the insight and imagination which we are accustomed to expect from his expositions of the letter or the spirit of the Old Testament. Dr. E. R. BEVAN offers a survey of Hellenistic Judaism, which contains a particularly able and discriminating study of Philo. Professor BURKITT follows with 'The Debt of Christianity to Judaism'—the debt to early Judaism being Jesus and the Old Testament, while to Rabbinical Judaism the debt lies in the gradual recovery of a better text and the more scientific interpretation of the Old Testament.

In 'The Influence of Judaism upon Jews in the Period from Hillel to Mendelssohn,' Mr. HERFORD tells a moving tale of their sorrows and sufferings, of the yellow badge and the ghetto, and of their unconquerable optimism through eighteen centuries. Full of suggestion and interest is Professor GUILLAUME's chapter on 'The Influence of Judaism on Islam,' in which he emphasizes the striking similarity between the Talmud and the Hadith, and shows how, in prayer, cult, and much else, Muhammadan practice was profoundly influenced by the Jews.

Dr. and Mrs. SINGER discuss at great length and with much learning 'The Jewish Factor in Mediæval Thought. Dr. SINGER deals also with 'Hebrew

Scholarship in the Middle Ages among Latin Christians,' while Canon BOX follows these essays up with an equally learned and interesting chapter on 'Hebrew Studies in the Reformation Period and After.' These three chapters, through which pass many famous figures, for example, Averroes, Maimonides, Abraham ben Ezra, Roger Bacon, Raymond Lull, Nicholas of Lyra, Pico della Mirandola, Reuchlin, Luther, Melancthon, the Buxtorfs, etc., reveal the almost incredible industry and erudition of the Jewish and Christian scholars of the Middle Ages and the Reformation Period.

Professor ISAACS of Harvard throws much curious light on 'The Influence of Judaism on Western Law,' while Principal SELBIE illustrates 'The Influence of the Old Testament on Puritanism' in its attitude to liberty, vengeance, witchcraft, war, persecution, the Sunday, etc. A chapter of quite unusual interest and importance is by Dr. Leon ROTH on 'Jewish Thought in the Modern World.' In this he shows how deep is our debt to the fundamental ideas of the Old Testament within the region not only of ethics but of scientific thought as well.

A short but suggestive paper by Professor MEILLET of Paris on 'The Influence of the Hebrew Bible on European Languages' is followed by a fresh study of 'The Legacy in Modern Literature' from the pen of Mr. Laurie MAGNUS, who shows how greatly the language and thought—and not least the political thought—of modern literature are saturated with the language and thought of the Old Testament. The volume is fittingly closed by an epilogue in which Mr. MONTEFIORE forcibly pleads, as he has done before, that the work of Judaism is not yet done, but that it may still exercise a more direct influence upon the world's religious future than it has done in the last sixteen hundred years.

It is obviously impossible to review, in the ordinary sense of the word, a book whose contents are so rich and varied. All that we can hope to do is to record a few impressions and offer a few quotations which will indicate the flavour of this important volume, whose value as an interpreta-

tion of Judaism is enormously enhanced by eighty-three remarkable illustrations.

The first point to which we would call attention is Dr. BEVAN's fine characterization of the essential elements of the Hebraic view of the world. They are three: (1) An apprehension of God as righteous Will; (2) a conception of the world-process as a process in Time, which embodies a Divine plan beginning in God's mighty act of creation and leading up to a great consummation in the future; and (3) an association of the Divine plan with a Divine community, a 'people of God' chosen to be the vehicle of God's purpose, so that the ultimate consummation is a communal bliss, the community redeemed, blessed, and glorious.

The mysterious Cabala which seems so remote and impalpable to those who have not seriously studied it, is attractively presented by Canon Box as revealing the mystical side of Judaism and as marking the reaction against a dry and arid scholasticism. He reminds us that some of the most exquisite prayers and liturgical poems of the synagogue liturgy are the productions of the Cabalists, and he quotes the contention of J. Abelson that 'if it is true to say that Judaism here and there suffers from too large an element of formalism and legalism and externalism, it is equally true to say that many of these drawbacks are corrected, toned down, by the contributions of mysticism.'

In the chapter on 'The Legacy in Modern Literature,' Mr. MAGNUS makes some suggestive remarks about the curious power of the Bible to associate moral ideas with the names of things. In its summons not to live by bread alone nor to eat the bread of idleness, it 'standardized the loaf's spiritual value. . . . Bread, wine, and the rest were not merely what the dictionary called them; they were sublimated, or consecrated, into a call to virtuous living.'

In another chapter Dr. BEVAN reminds us that the problem with which the Jews of the Dispersion were brought face to face through their contact with Hellenism was just 'the first brunt in a conflict

in which we too are engaged. For their problem is still in a way our problem. In the civilization of the European peoples the Hebrew and Greek traditions have entered into combination, but their mutual adjustment still raises questions on which men are not agreed.'

In some ways the most striking claim for Judaism made in the volume is that by Dr. ROTH when he contends for its influence upon scientific thought. This honour is usually claimed for Hellenism, but Dr. ROTH argues that 'the very background of modern scientific ideology is Hebraic. As a matter of history this derives not from the scientific monism of Greece but from the transcendental monotheism of Israel. The ideal of absolute cosmic regularity, so far as it has reached general thought, is of theological origin.' And again, 'Whatever idea of the spiritual has reached the masses of the European peoples is due to the Jewish view of the character of supreme reality. In the light of this achievement all else pales.'

Throughout all the chequered history of the Hebrews one spirit has run. As the Master of Balliol well puts it in his 'Prologue': 'There is a world of difference between the dramatic passion and the poetic imagery of the Book of Job and the austere and ordered reasonings of Spinoza's Ethic; but in that rare combination of unflinching truthfulness and religious reverence the two books are alike, and in the strength of that combination they breathe an assurance of trust and confidence which is the more precious because it has been so hardly won.'

In view of the stupendous influence that Israel has exercised upon the thought and life of the world—an influence abundantly illustrated by this volume—Canon Box's eloquent plea for 'the rehabilitation of Hebrew studies as occupying an essential place in sound learning, and above all in studies which have the Bible as their foundation,' is very much to the point. He shows what an essential element the study of Hebrew was in the Humanistic Movement which found expression in the Renaissance and the Reformation. That study,

like the study of Greek and Latin, brought men who were weary of the arid logomachies and futilities of scholasticism face to face with reality ; and the spiritual heirs of the Reformers will never, let us hope, abandon the study of a language which enshrines a literature that has left so powerful a mark upon the mind and spirit of man.

Dr. Rendel HARRIS has published in pamphlet form a little book on *Eucharistic Origins* (Heffer ; 3s. net), in which he traverses Bousset's opinion that in the present state of our knowledge we are obliged to give up all hope of ascertaining the original meaning of the Last Supper. It is an opinion shared by other liberal and radical critics of the New Testament documents ; and it must be reckoned with by those, in particular, who would maintain the 'Dominical' institution of the Eucharist as a Sacrament, in the Catholic sense of a 'generally necessary' means of objective grace.

But Dr. HARRIS's views as to the original meaning of the Last Supper will not be welcome to conservative critics, and will be obnoxious to those who believe in our Lord's institution of the Eucharist as a means of grace. For a critical examination of the Eucharistic texts in the Gospels and 1 Corinthians leads him to the conclusion that what Jesus did and said was simply this : 'He took a cup and said, "This is my Soma."' And by this Jesus meant nothing suggestive of the Catholic idea of Sacrament, but only that the end was come and immortality was at hand.

We cannot take space to show how Dr. HARRIS

reaches his critical reduction of the Eucharistic texts, but we may indicate how he reaches his novel interpretation of what he regards as the primitive text. It is by writing *σῶμα* (*sōma*) with a capital letter and understanding it as the 'great Aryan Sacrament,' and as signifying immortality.

'We have drunk Soma, we have become immortal, We have pressed through to the light, we have found the gods (*Rig-Veda*).'

That is to say, Jesus was speaking of the Indian, Avestan, Indo-Germanic *Soma*, and not of His *body*.

Thus, according to Dr. HARRIS's restoration of the original form of the Eucharist, our Lord used a mystical expression, an occult saying, a figure of speech expressing the situation in which He found Himself : 'He appears to have invited the disciples to drink Soma with Him, *i.e.* to die with Him, and with Him to enter upon an immortal life. They did drink, but, as in so many other cases, they only understood in part. From that partial misunderstanding sprang, in a little while, the "Hoc est corpus meum," and the Mass.'

Dr. HARRIS is quite sensible that his suggestions 'for the simplification of the history of the Eucharist and for making it at once intelligible and reasonable' are open to a very damaging fire of objections. Did the term *Soma*, in the sense of the 'elixir of immortality' of the Pagan mysteries such as the Bacchic, exist either in Greek or in Syriac ? Could it have formed part of our Lord's religious vocabulary ? Are we justified in drawing analogies between Greek and Indian cults, or, more specifically, in assuming a dependence of Greek Bacchic rites upon Aryan origins ?

The Sacramental Controversy before A.D. 1.

By HERBERT LOEWE, M.A., OXFORD.

THAT the Jewish student should be interested in the recent discussions on the Prayer Book is by no means strange. The world has progressed to a recognition that there are no water-tight bulk-heads between religions: we are beginning to think not merely imperially but universally. After the war we learnt that we had, against our will, to trade with our former enemies in order to avoid our own economic ruin, and if in matters of the purse we discover the futility of political frontiers, how much more, as the Rabbis would say, must there be interaction in the spiritual realm? If hatred thaws in the warmth of human needs, can love remain chill and isolated? In religion the whole is often affected by the parts. A survey of the centuries will show how frequently stagnation and rottenness or revival and strength in one creed have had contemporary parallels in others. A virile Christianity promotes a virile Judaism. Ideas cannot be pent within a narrow circle. Hence the growth of a new religious development in Christianity is by no means a thing of indifference to the Jew. He seeks to study and to understand the causes and the issues, and he realizes that there may well be implications for his own faith in a movement that, at first sight, seems far removed from him. Moreover, the Established Church is a British institution, and the British Jew regards it with a reverence that many Churches in other lands fail to arouse in the Jews who live under their shadow. Finally, there is some indefinable characteristic about British Christianity—established or non-conformist—that profoundly interests the Jew. The British Christian and the British Jew seem to possess a kindred theological outlook and method.

But the last thing that a Jewish student would wish to do is to interfere in the domestic privacies of others. They have much that he can study, but much that he cannot comprehend. Just as keenly as he welcomes others who desire to understand Judaism, so strongly would he resent their dictation of the form which his creed should assume or the ceremonies which his Synagogue should carry out or discard. The Jewish Member of Parliament had an obvious solution for his dilemma, a dilemma which was moral and not legal; he had but to consult the vicars and church-wardens of his constituency, and to vote in accord-

ance with their wishes. Neutrality for Jewish citizens has not always been easy to achieve. Thus, when the doctrine of papal infallibility was proclaimed, in many towns on the Continent the Catholics illuminated their houses, while the Protestants naturally abstained from doing so. What could the Jews do to indicate their passive attitude? They could not merely refrain from putting candles in their windows, for this negative action definitely committed them to one party.

To-day if a Jewish student ventures to write on one aspect of the Prayer Book controversy it is from purely historical motives. The parallels seem worth recording from the literary point of view: they are not set out to provide partisan ammunition. And if the present writer seems to favour one side rather than the other it is because this reading of the facts suggests itself to him. The reading may be wrong, but the facts are valid and perhaps may be thought worth while collecting.

Most people are agreed that the driving force which impelled the majority in the Commons to veto the Prayer Book was an objection to the reservation of the Sacrament. Whether, as some hold, the objectors understood or, as others hold, they failed to understand the meaning of reservation and of sacrament, is for the present purposes irrelevant. The fact remains that this question, in the end, determined the result. Those who point to the geographical composition of the majority, to the 'Protestant underworld,' to the effect of good oratory *versus* tactical blunders or to other non-essentials are really evading the issue. The Home Secretary and his followers took their stand on the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Sacrament and on this point alone were votes given or withheld ultimately.

Apart from practical considerations and the intensely difficult situation in the Church, there is an historical side to this question, which is not devoid of interest. Nothing is entirely new under the sun, and there is a periodicity in the ebb and flow of ideas which is often amazing and of which the battle of the Prayer Book furnishes an illuminating example. The sacramental question of to-day is not, after all, a creation of the twentieth century, nor is it even a revival of the central controversy of the Reformation; the clash of thought began over two thousand years ago.

But can one speak of a sacramental controversy in Judaism? The premises seem unsound, at the very outset. Judaism knows no sacraments, the twelve volumes of the Jewish Encyclopedia contain no article under the heading Sacrament; how, then, can we speak of a pre-Christian Sacramental controversy? Judaism knows of ceremonies; one might possibly go so far as to say that, for example, the rite of circumcision and the Priestly Benediction were 'outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace,' though some would maintain that this is pushing the idea of *Kawwanah* too far.

But in no case would Judaism admit that the Grace was 'inherent in the external symbolical thing or act as well as in the faithful who receive or do it,' according to the definition of the Latin Church. There is no *mysterion* of the Greek Church in the act of *Kiddush*, and if certain Jews kiss the Scroll of the Law as it is carried past them to the lectern, they are merely acting as two continental gentlemen would do when meeting or parting. English Jews are more restrained in their social etiquette and religious ceremonial. Nevertheless, although Judaism lacks sacraments now, it does not follow that it has lacked them always. There was a sacramental tendency in *Kabbalah*, but it made little if any general headway. Yet there was a time when Judaism certainly did possess sacraments, only this time is so long distant that for practical purposes no memories can be said to survive.

Christianity was born at a time when men had long fought for the retention or abolition of certain ceremonies in worship, because of the belief in the Real Presence which these ceremonies were intended to express. The High Churchman to-day is the spiritual descendant of the Sadducees; the Evangelicals represent the principles of the Pharisees. Then as now the subject in dispute was the doctrine that underlay the culminating act of public worship; then, as now, this act was performed by one party as a symbol, and by the other as a Sacramental mystery. The parallel grows all the more striking the more it is studied.

On the Day of Atonement, the most solemn day in the Jewish calendar, the High Priest, in accordance with the prescriptions of Leviticus, entered the Holy of Holies, to seek forgiveness for the sins of the people. His threefold confession and prayer for pardon were accompanied, amongst other things, by the offering of incense. According to Lv 16¹², the High Priest was commanded to take 'a censer full of coals of fire from off the altar before the Lord, and his hands full of sweet incense beaten

small, and bring it within the veil: and he shall put the incense upon the fire before the Lord, that the cloud of the incense may cover the mercy-seat that is upon the testimony.' This simple ordinance was the subject of long and vigorous dispute between the Sadducees and the Pharisees, it was the 'dividing line' between them, and the point at issue was exactly that of to-day, did the High Priest or did he not perform an act which brought him into physical—not merely spiritual—contact with the Supreme Being? How was this distinction manifested? The Sadducees held that the High Priest was to kindle the incense in the vessel outside the Holy of Holies, so that he might come within the Veil wrapped in a cloud of smoke. The Pharisees insisted that the incense must be kindled within the Holy of Holies. The difference seems slight, but behind it lay two diametrically opposed conceptions of God. Professor Lauterbach's recent article in the *Hebrew Union College Annual* (Cincinnati) may be said to be the final word on this subject. His views are as follows: The Sadducees taught that God Himself was present within the Veil, because 'in the cloud (of incense) will I appear upon the Mercy Seat' (*ib.* verse 2); that the Priest did see God, and that he alone could see God and only at that place and at that moment: that the Divine hierarchy was present and that death might follow any irreverence or neglect of duty by the High Priest. Hence as a servant would never be so deficient in respect as to prepare incense for an earthly master in his presence, so, *a fortiori*, must the High Priest approach God Himself with the preliminaries decently accomplished outside the Veil. The smoke of the incense was to screen him from the Deity. This doctrine was uncompromisingly rejected by the Pharisees, who taught that God is everywhere, that the whole earth is full of His Glory and that He is approachable by all men at all times. Accordingly they denied the 'Real Presence,' *i.e.* that God or any 'visible representation of Him or any visible representation of His Glory could actually be seen in the Holy of Holies hovering over the Ark-cover, or, in the Second Temple, when the Ark was no more, on the *Eben Shethiyah* stone' that marked the site of the Ark (Lauterbach). Therefore the Pharisees were opposed to any practice that might lend colour to this anthropomorphic view. They taught a purer conception of the Godhead, and so they insisted that the incense should be kindled within the Veil, so that even the faintest suggestion of corporeal contact with the Deity be definitely repudiated.

It must be remembered that the Sadducees were the conservative priests. They stood for the Temple and the Temple ritual, the old-fashioned beliefs and practices of the past, the dignity and privileges of the priesthood and the status of the aristocracy. The Pharisees were laymen, mostly sprung from the poorer classes, evangelical in outlook and progressive in thought. The Sadducees stood for the Temple, and the Pharisees for the Bible. General verdicts on the two parties are perilous; there were good men and bad men in each, but personal merit does not come into the question. The fact to be noted is that the Pharisees were determined to purge religion from anthropomorphic elements which had crept in and become stereotyped. They took their stand upon the spirit, which they claimed was implicit in the Scriptures. This interpretation was their 'tradition,' which the Sadducees, who were literalists, rejected.

This matter of the incense, then, was a typical instance of the clash between Sadducee and Pharisee that turned upon the conception of God. There were others. The Sadducees claimed that the cost of the daily offering devolved on the High Priest, whereas the Pharisees declared it to be an item of national expenditure: the Sadducees claimed the meal as the priests' offering, attaching almost a sacramental value to the sacrifice, while the Pharisees assigned it to the laity. They ascribed less sanctity to the Scrolls of the Law than did the Pharisees. In these and in other instances the underlying motives were extraordinarily similar to those which divide Protestants from Catholics. We may note the Sadducean emphasis on the status of the Priest and his order and on the efficacy of the priests' actions, the endeavour to solve the problem of transcendence by anthropomorphism and sacrament; correspondingly there was the Evangelical tendency of the Pharisees, who, as laymen, stressed the religious claims of the people as opposed to the Ecclesiastics, the drawing of authority from the Bible and the Holy Spirit, and the attainment of immanence by inward

means. All this seems peculiarly modern: it is, in fact, nothing but a primitive difference in the human outlook towards God. Variety of this outlook there has always been and there must always be. To seek for uniformity is futile. The value of history lies largely in the lessons which it may give for future guidance, and in this case, too, one may with profit look back and see how these mutually incompatible views of the Real Presence adjusted themselves. Now the Sadducees were in power before the Pharisees. The latter, growing up slowly but surely, probably long after the return from exile, gradually acquired authority. Between the Sanhedrin, mostly Pharisee, and the priesthood there arose a situation comparable to that which the Church of England would furnish if the Bishops were all Anglo-Catholic and the House of Commons entirely Protestant; in other words, if the recent Prayer Book vote were a normal incident in the working of Church and State. The Pharisees used every year before the Day of Atonement to exact an oath from the High Priest that he would introduce no Sadducean ritual into the service. On one occasion a Sadducean High Priest did so successfully, but he was rebuked by his father for, as we should say, disturbing the balance of the compromise. How long this concordat would have lasted we cannot say. No doubt the Pharisees would have ended by capturing the priesthood, because the Sadducean party was limited in number and, on the whole, less inclined to religion than were the Pharisees. But the significant fact is that when Jerusalem was captured by Titus, the Sadducees simply disappeared. They had built their faith on the Temple, and when the Temple fell they fell with it. The Pharisees built on the Bible, and they have survived to this day, for all Judaism, that of Jesus and that of the Rabbis, that of the Liberals and that of the Zionists, is Pharisaic. The Sadducees restricted the Real Presence to one place, and without that place they were lost. The Pharisees saw God everywhere, and thus amid two millennia of persecution their faith has kept them alive.

Literature.

FIVE CENTURIES OF RELIGION.

'NOTHING,' says Dr. G. G. Coulton in volume ii. of his *Five Centuries of Religion* (Cambridge University Press; 3rs. 6d. net), 'can quite replace the study of actual texts.' The reader who embarks on the study of this massive and beautifully printed volume may do so with the assurance that he is reading the words of a scholar who has a unique knowledge of the original documents on which he bases his extraordinarily interesting and illuminating discussion of 'The Friars and the Dead Weight of Tradition from 1200 to 1400 A.D.,' which is the subtitle of the volume. The picture on the whole is a dark one, and those who resented the conclusions reached in the first volume are faithfully and trenchantly dealt with in the Preface and in other parts of this volume.

Dr. Coulton has no desire to paint the picture darker than it really is; he is not slow to give credit where credit is due; but when he deals with the uglier side of the religious life of those two centuries, he does not rest his case on the indictments of the professional satirists, but on the words of contemporaries who were deeply interested in the welfare of the Orders whose conduct they sorrowfully denounce. Over against the beauty of the life of St. Francis, which has stirred the Protestants of to-day as profoundly as the Roman Catholics, have to be set many incontrovertible evidences of the unhealthy state of monasticism. There are charges of rioting and drunkenness. 'They turn these houses of hospitality and piety into dens of thieves, brothels of harlots and synagogues of Jews.' 'The nun who has no devotee—nay, seducer—holdeth herself as one deserted.' There is a long and carefully documented appendix of discussion, consisting largely of quotations and extending to nearly one hundred and fifty pages, which substantiate the more general indictment of the earlier chapters; and he will have to be a good medieval scholar indeed who will seek to invalidate Dr. Coulton's argument.

Here we read of the Abbot as Baron, of the Monk as Squire, of Monk and Peasant, of the Poor Clares, of the Friars' Decay, of the difficulties of Discipline and of the Visitors' Methods, of how the Orders became increasingly identified with the growing capitalistic system, of how the monks rack-rented their tenants, of how tribute was exacted from concubinary clergy—of these and of

many other things. Incidentally, too, a few common fallacies are exploded: we are reminded, for example, that 'the theory that the worship of the Virgin Mary worked, in any decisive degree, to raise the status of women is quite irreconcilable with the facts.' There is also a brief but valuable discussion of the Stigmatization of St. Francis, written in the true historical temper which refuses to go beyond the facts, and reminding the curious that 'no single witness is both (1) an eye-witness, and (2) a describer of the plastically formed nails.' The skill and interest with which the long and complicated story of two centuries is sustained almost conceal from the reader the enormous erudition which underlies it. This volume, like its predecessor, is of the highest historical value and of the deepest human interest.

A THEOLOGICAL STORM-CENTRE.

Bishop Barnes has for some years been making himself increasingly unpopular with a considerable section of his fellow-churchmen. This is not, probably, because of his general theological breadth. He is not broader than many others, than Dean Inge for instance, in regard to doctrine and criticism. His unpopularity is due to the bluntness with which he has criticised one particular belief, the Anglo-Catholic doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The protest made against his teaching on this point rests on several grounds. For one thing, his opponents say that a bishop should not take sides in such a dispute. Further, they declare that he is attacking a belief which has been tolerated for long in the Church of England. And, finally, they object to the 'brutality' of his language.

The Bishop is quite unrepentant, as he shows by the publication of the most criticised of his recent utterances, and of much else on the same lines, in his new book with the curious title *Should such a Faith Offend?* (Hodder & Stoughton; 7s. 6d. net). In the preface to this book he vigorously (and successfully) vindicates his right as a bishop to deal with the great issues of faith, and to repudiate and expose errors. He also contends that the Anglo-Catholic doctrine of the Holy Supper is not an allowed belief in the Church of England. And he repeats, and amplifies, the reprobated terms in which he characterized this belief as grossly materialistic, magical, and superstitious.

The book is full of interest throughout, as may

be imagined. There is not a dull page in it. Nor is there anything really new. Indeed, the chief feeling the reader has on laying it down is one of surprise that so much should be said of Bishop Barnes's 'heresies.' They are for the most part the accepted views of all educated and open-minded people. If we except for the moment the sacramental essays, the book is mainly occupied in expounding the relations of religion and science. The Bishop shows clearly that there is no real conflict between them, if we accept the ascertained results of science. We have to give up out-worn systems like the Augustinian scheme reared on the doctrine of the Fall. But all that happens is that Christian faith is purified and simplified. We apologize for stating this obvious truth. But the fact that its reiteration in this book has been received with such disfavour only goes to show how urgently the pulpit needs to teach the plain realities of the modern religious situation. The Bishop's new book will do an immense deal of good if it clears the mind of the average man on this matter.

Bishop Barnes has not only courage. He possesses a clear and cogent mind, and expresses himself in direct and plain words that carry his meaning. This virtue is no doubt part of his offence. But in a day when the big things in religion are at stake, and when so many are willing to listen to an authentic voice, it is good to find some one who speaks of these things without any ambiguity, with fearless honesty, and (we add) with a positive and loyal assertion of the main Christian certainty, the Divine nature and authority of the Lord Jesus Christ.

WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

Apart from the Bible manuscripts, many apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings have been preserved to us in Syriac. Within recent years, however, a new impetus has been given to this horizon of Biblical knowledge by the scholarly translations of Dr. Mingana, of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, who is thus making available to us his valuable collection of manuscripts at present in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Selly Oak, Birmingham. All interested in these manuscripts, and especially those acquainted with his 'Early Judæo-Christian Documents,' translated from Syriac texts, will welcome his *Woodbrooke Studies*, the first volume of which has just been issued (Heffer; 10s. 6d. net). These Studies consist of Christian documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshūni, which Dr. Mingana is editing and translating with a critical apparatus. The first volume,

which is dedicated to Mr. Edward Cadbury, contains Barṣalibā's Treatise against the Melchites, some genuine and apocryphal works of Ignatius of Antioch, a Jeremiah Apocryphon, a new life of John the Baptist, and some uncanonical psalms, all translated into excellent English, with an introduction to each by Dr. Rendel Harris. Barṣalibā's Treatise throws considerable light on the Monophysite and allied controversies as they affected the Greek and Eastern Churches in the fifth century. This good Syrian father, belonging to the West Syrian Church, with its Monophysite Christology of only one nature (God-man), and its exaltation of the Virgin to celestial rank, writes ten chapters against the Melchites, a small group of Syrian believers who had accepted the Chalcedon creed of two natures (God-and-man), but who at the same time claimed protection and patronage by attachment to the State Church and the Imperial city. His treatise is largely concerned with the trivialities of ritual, but one cannot but be impressed with his noble Christlike spirit as well as his dialectical skill. The works of Ignatius which follow are probably apocryphal, for, as Dr. Rendel Harris reminds us, so many spurious interpolations and additions have accumulated round this martyr bishop's name that some critics, such as W. R. Cassels in 'Supernatural Religion,' have regarded all the writings bearing his name as false. The principal Ignatius document given is an exhortation to priests and deacons to practise personal piety and not to be led away into immoral actions. It is interesting in several ways. For one thing, it quotes the Gospels in a harmonized form (Matthew + Luke), independent of Tatian's 'Harmony.' The writer is also acquainted with the 'Odes of Solomon,' the greatest of all Syriac writings, and adopts the anti-Judaic Wednesday and Friday fasts, and the displacement of Sabbath by Sunday. The Jeremiah Apocryphon is an Apocalyptic document which deals with the fortunes of exiled Israel and their hopes of resurrection and return. It is a Christian Arabic book, written in Garshūni, *i.e.* the popular Arabic language but in Syriac characters, a method sometimes adopted so as to escape Moslem criticism, and it has probably a Greek text underlying it. The story tells the sufferings of Jeremiah, the horrors of the Exile, and the privations and toil of the people. The new life of John the Baptist, in Garshūni also, by one Serapion, an Egyptian bishop near the close of the fourth century, is a mixture of history and legend, probably translated from Greek, and with interpolations by authors or

copyists of a later date. The writer has dipped accurately into the Bible account, but has also blended with it a large amount of apocryphal detail as to the Baptist's diet, the burial of Elisabeth by her seven-year-old child, the preservation of the Baptist's head, and other matters. Dr. Mingana gives us five uncanonical psalms, the first of which is a thanksgiving by David for the defeat of Goliath. This one, which seems to come originally from the Greek, is found in many manuscripts of the Syrian Psalter, where it is numbered the 151st, and was even translated into Scottish last century by Dr. Hately Waddell. The thought and diction of all five are good, and in reading one or two of them, which show fine Hebrew parallelism and have probably come direct from the Hebrew, we might almost fancy we were perusing our own Psalter. These *Woodbrooke Studies* add materially to our knowledge of Christian literature in the early centuries and should be in every Biblical scholar's library. They are so excellently done that any criticism of them would be out of place. The volume is beautifully illustrated with the original texts in full, and the introductions of Dr. Rendel Harris, as might be expected, are most interesting masterpieces of exposition and criticism.

DEAN INGE.

Dean Inge's utterances, by their range and piquancy, strike the taste of a very wide public; and if his sayings are occasionally bitter—on the whole it is a tonic bitterness which sensible people feel to be a wholesome cathartic for uncritical thinking. His new volume of Essays—*The Church in the World* (Longmans; 6s. net)—confined almost wholly to religious subjects, lacks perhaps the popular appeal of his former excursions into politics, ethics, and eugenics, but in its own restricted domain it has all the well-known characteristics of the Dean's style of thinking and expression—his direct pungency, his epigrammatic power of condensing his criticism of a party or a philosophy into a few memorable sentences—his fearless freedom from decorous and expected platitudes, his faith in reason—are all here and command admiration even if they do not always win consent. The Essays are eight in number and can be treated in two main groups. The first group comprises Essays I., III., IV., and VIII. Essay III. deals with the Quakers, of whom he says more than once that 'they are the truest Christians in the modern world,' though he disagrees with their view that 'force is no remedy,' and that capital punishment

is wrong. Their reliance on experience rather than on authority in religion and their rational acceptance of science as a source of truth are pleasing to the Dean and to us all. He sees in them Christian Platonists in disguise and hails them as Friends indeed. It is a generous tribute, for which we all thank him. The last Essay is a wise exposition of the true aims of education, with a dash of enlightened patriotism, as becomes one who is conscious of the rich heritage of the race to which he belongs.

The fourth Essay, on 'Hellenism and Christianity,' reminds us of our debt as Christians to Hellenes as well as to Judea. 'Thy sons, oh Zion, against thy sons, oh Greece' seems in this plea of the Dean's to be reversed. It is a characteristic Essay, and the main contention underlying it runs like a refrain through this volume. Christianity is more an Hellenic and Platonic religion than a Judean. Paul was more a Greek than a Jew. Modern Christianity is suffering from the fact that the Erasmic and Renaissance sweet reasonableness did not gain a hearing in the bitter contentions of Protestant and Catholic. The sane stream of Christianity flowed through Platonism. One feels that the thesis is overpressed. After all, Hebraism had something to do with Christianity, and it is possible on the broad ground of history to contend that Platonism, valuable as it is, was made alive, and is kept alive, by the New Spirit which historically had its origin in Judea. 'Salvation is of the Jews.' The first Essay, 'The Condition of the Church of England,' is perhaps the most interesting in the volume, both for its own sake and on account of the present situation in that communion.

The second group of Essays, II., V., VI., and VII., is more concerned with the philosophy of religion, and we welcome on the one hand Dean Inge's trenchant criticism of naturalism, and on the other his warm appreciation of science. He is surely right in insisting that religion and science as organs of truth cannot be kept in water-tight compartments, in his plea that God is more than His manifestation of Himself in the world either of Nature or of history, and in his repudiation of truth as something created by our wishes and values. 'God is the *valor valorum* and the *ens realissimum*,' not a creation to suit our taste or our wishes, but the Ultimate Reality. All through there runs the plea for the rehabilitation of rational mysticism and Platonism, but if he repeats this in every Essay we do not get tired of it, for, as a king of France said of his favourite preacher: 'I would rather listen

to his repetitions than to most other men's novelties'; so we say of Dean Inge, only we feel like asking him what really is his view of religious revelation, and whether there is anything after all in the old antithesis of revelation and reason.

A NEW SAMARITAN TEXT.

There can be few, if any, people living to-day who know as much about the Samaritans as Moses Gaster, Ph.D. His Schweich Lectures, delivered a few years ago, dealt with their History, Doctrines, and Literature, and he has now put us still further in his debt by the publication of *The Asatir: The Samaritan Book of the 'Secrets of Moses,' together with the Pitron or Samaritan Commentary and the Samaritan Story of the Death of Moses* (Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1). The *Asatir* is a pseudepigraphical collection, in Samaritan, of Biblical legends—a sort of legendary supplement to the Pentateuch—ascribed to Moses. It was discovered by Dr. Gaster among the Samaritans in 1907, and the original Samaritan text, which is often extremely difficult and obscure, is presented here, with the much fuller Samaritan commentary, in a very readable translation.

Dr. Gaster has expended much learning in tracing the connexion between the *Asatir* and literature whose material is in part more or less cognate, notably the Sibylline Oracles and parts of the Antiquities of Josephus; and he makes out a very good case for the thesis that this Samaritan book is one of the hitherto unsuspected sources of portions of the Oracles, while Josephus drew from a source not indeed identical with, but closely approximating to, the *Asatir*. The aim of the *Asatir*, which 'could not have been compiled later than between 250–200 B.C.,' is in part polemical. Prominent in it is the holiness of Mount Garizim, and hatred against the Temple in Jerusalem: it emphasizes the truth of the Samaritan claims to be the possessors of the genuine text of the Bible and the strict observers of the Law. Among other points of interest the figure of Antichrist is traced back to the story of Balaam. The linguistic discussion and the transliteration of a portion of the Samaritan text will be of special interest to philologists. The text of the Samaritan description of the death of Moses appears here for the first time.

There are several errata—due no doubt to the fact that the book was printed in Leipzig—which should be corrected in a subsequent edition: syncretistic (pp. 13, 39, 64), sequence (p. 16), idolators (p. 34), Sammaritans (p. 103), guttersals

(p. 127), indispensable (p. 157); a few faulty divisions, for example, soug htin (p. 126), theo ther (p. 160), ol doriginal (p. 164); omissions of letters, for example, th contents (p. 127), nterpret (p. 167), Thou who was (p. 315), while on p. 317 'O Thou the of the house of Levi,' a word corresponding to קִי' has dropped out between 'the' and 'of.'

Students of the history of Midrash should give this book a cordial welcome, and Dr. Gaster is to be congratulated not only on this fine piece of pioneer work but on presenting in the notes to his translation many parallels from Samaritan literature, much of which is, even to well-equipped students, practically inaccessible.

THE EUCHARIST.

In his book, *The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper* (Jackson, Wylie & Co., Glasgow; 10s. 6d. net), the Rev. Alexander Barclay, B.D., Ph.D., offers a study in the Eucharistic teaching of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, in which he supplies for English students of the Reformation doctrine of the Sacraments a conspectus of material such as is to be readily found only in French and German text-books. The book is chiefly occupied with the exposition of Calvin's Eucharistic views, and the exposition is based—as indeed also in the cases of Luther and Zwingli—on an examination of his writings according to the chronological order, as determined by modern research. There is also a good discussion of the question how far Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper is Scriptural, as also of the question whether Calvin was in this doctrine self-consistent, and by way of appendix to the volume the points of contact between the Eucharistic teaching of Ratramnus in the eighth century and that of Calvin in the sixteenth are set forth.

The aim of the book might be succinctly expressed as follows: it is to show that in the matter of the Lord's Supper Luther became a Lutheran, that Zwingli was never a Zwinglian (in the sense that his theory is one of Mere Commemoration), and that Calvin was ever a Calvinist. It belongs to these same positions that there was essential agreement among the Reformers on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and that their differences were not so pronounced as the traditional interpretations would have them to be.

Dr. Barclay maintains his thesis with consistency and with theological competence; but, apart from that, we are indebted to him for the material which he has placed so conveniently to the hand of the English teacher and student, especially as it reflects

a careful and diligent use of the documentary sources. Particularly to be commended is the discussion in chapter xvi. of the relation of Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper to that of Luther. The book is furnished with a valuable bibliographical list.

THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

Dr. Rendel Harris has applied his great learning and critical ingenuity to the problem of the composition of the first Christian apostolate. His work is entitled *The Twelve Apostles* (Heffer; 7s. 6d. net), and proceeds on the assumption that the accounts of the 'Dodecad' in the Gospels may have been subject to legendary accretion. The main motive for such accretion would appear to have been, according to Dr. Harris, the emergence of the doctrine of the Virgin Birth and the consequent necessity of eliminating from the original catalogues of the Apostles anything that seemed derogatory to Jesus and Mary—for example, the implication that Jesus was not the first-born of Mary or that Jesus and Judas were twins. Dr. Harris regards the tradition of the existence of a body of twelve apostles as very early and very widely diffused, but he discovers in the traditional list what appear to be three titles which are not properly names at all, to wit, Thomas (twin-brother), Thaddæus (foster-brother), and Bartholomew (son of Tolmai); and he offers the opinion that the apostolic catalogue, as we have it in the Gospels, would, when done into popular English, read something like this: Simon Peter, James McZebedee and John McZebedee, Andrew, Philip, McTolmai (a title), Matthew, Twin-brother (a title), James McSubstitute (that is James son of Alphæus-Cleophas), Foster-brother (a title), Simon the Radical, and Judas the Traitor. 'Write the list in this way,' says Dr. Harris, 'and the fantastic and unscientific character of the original becomes evident. At the same time, the historical elements can be seen through the peculiarities of the list. For we can see that James is the son of Joseph and Mary, thinly disguised, and that the Foster-brother is a second stage meant to eliminate the twin, who must not really be called so.'

There are many points of interest in this volume, apart altogether from its attempt to reconstruct the apostolic college, and one cannot but be attracted by Dr. Harris' methods and intrigued by his manner. He himself is well aware that he moves in a world of conjecture, but it is his conviction that all possible hypotheses with regard

to the origin and diffusion of Christianity should be made and tested.

OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK.

The first part of the second volume of *The Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge University Press; 20s. net), of which the last part of the first volume was published eleven years ago, has just appeared. It presents the text of the First and Second Books of Samuel, and its editing has been in the very competent hands of A. E. Brooke, D.D., Norman McLean, M.A., and Henry St. John Thackeray, M.A., D.D., all of whom are acknowledged masters in the field of the Septuagint. In this edition the Vatican text is 'supplemented from other uncial manuscripts,' and provided 'with a critical apparatus containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities for the text of the Septuagint.' Fortunately the editors were able to avail themselves of MS. evidence placed at their disposal by the distinguished German Septuagint scholar, Professor Rahlfs. Recondite sources such as the Sahidic versions have been drawn upon, and even a series of Sahidic fragments containing extracts from a life of Samuel, but the salutary warning is added that inferences as to the text drawn from such a source which contains legendary additions have to be made with caution.

In his recent book on the 'Asatir,' Dr. Gaster has argued that, so far as the Hexateuch is concerned, Josephus in his 'Antiquities,' 'even if he did make use of a Greek translation of the Bible,' did not use the LXX which is now in our hands, but rather drew on some Palestinian Midrash. With this in the main Dr. St. John Thackeray agrees. But he maintains that though in that section Josephus was mainly dependent on a Semitic source, he becomes, from 158 onwards, 'a witness of first-rate importance for the text of the Greek Bible,' and the evidence afforded by him is accordingly carefully recorded in this volume.

In comparison with Swete's Septuagint, the textual variants here are bewilderingly abundant, occupying usually more than half the space of the text itself. Of Hebrew MSS Dr. Melville Scott has recently said, 'the painful drudgery involved in the collation of MSS is hardly needed; for this work has already been done, with vastly little result.' But whatever the result may be, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to scholars who are willing to make such a collation, even when much of the evidence is of no value, and may even be positively misleading, for purposes of interpretation; for

example, the famous verse 1 S 15¹³ reads *θεραπείαν* for *teraphim*, but it is good to know that the original meaning was still preserved in other MSS by *θεραφειμ*, etc. (cf. *σεραφίμ*), and more obscurely in 1 S 14⁴¹ by *δοιότητα* (even *θειότητα*) for the unexpressed *thummim*. The extraordinary variety in the spelling of proper names is significant of many things: for example, in 2 S 21¹⁹ Goliath appears not only as *Γωλιαθ*, *Γολιαθ*, and *Γολιαδ*, but as *Γοδολιαν* (acc.), and even *Γολοδιαν*, while the Bethlehemite appears not only as *ὁ Βαιθλεεμμιτης*, but as *νιου* (*β*) *του ελεμι*, and in 2 S 23⁸ an alternative to *Ἰεβόσθε* is the significant *ισββαλ*. If ever an approximately correct text of the Septuagint is to be reached, it will only be through the infinite toil and inexhaustible patience exhibited in such a volume as this.

THE SCOTTISH LAYMAN'S LIBRARY.

The Scottish Layman's Library goes on steadily increasing its number of issues. The two latest volumes are two of its best. One is *The Scottish Churches' Work Abroad*, by the Rev. J. H. Morrison, M.A., and the other, *Early Church Portraits*, by the Rev. J. Heston Willey, Ph.D., S.T.D. (T. & T. Clark; 5s. net each). Mr. Morrison is well known for his missionary writings, for his vivid style, his ample knowledge, his intellectual grasp. And all these qualities are apparent in his latest volume. He traces the Scottish missionary effort from its dawn to the present day, and in the course of his survey conveys an immense amount of information without losing himself or sacrificing the broad effects in the process. This is an excellent book, and all interested in missionary work, whether by Scotsmen or any others, should possess themselves of it.

We are impressed by the skill and felicity of the author of the other book, Dr. Willey. He begins with Polycarp, and gives us sketches of Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Gregory, Charlemagne, Peter the Hermit, and Dante. That is rich fare. It is Church history, and biography, and theology, and literature. And all these streams add their quota to the interest of the book. It is a book written with distinction, full of thought, and dealing with men and systems and influences about which we all wish to know something.

CONSTRUCTIVE CITIZENSHIP.

A new book by Principal Jacks, D.D., LL.D., D.Litt. — *Constructive Citizenship* (Hodder &

Stoughton; 8s. 6d. net) — does not need review in the ordinary sense, it requires only mention; for Principal Jacks has his audience, and his audience knows what to expect. In the winter of 1926–27 he delivered in the University of Glasgow the Stevenson Lectures on Citizenship, and the book consists of those lectures with such additions as give greater completeness than the oral delivery of lectures permits. There are nineteen chapters dealing with such subjects as Constructiveness, Misleading Terms, Social Valour, the Hatred of Labour, Vitalized Leisure, Trusteeship, Rights and Duties, Co-operation, Social Tension. The very titles will suggest at once the interesting and valuable nature of the discussions.

Many topics suggest themselves for summary, but let us take a sentence or two from the chapter on Social Valour. 'The progress of civilization does not consist, as some would have it, in gradual advance to the point of safety, it consists much rather in a growing perception of the common risk and *the growing willingness to face it together*. I would urge you to beware of social doctrines and of religious doctrines, too, for there are such, which obscure the necessity of high courage, individual and collective. I would urge you to interpret the duties of your citizenship, primarily and essentially, as the duties of men and women who are called upon to make a valiant contribution to the work of their generation by taking their share in the dangers and sufferings of the common enterprise as well as in the fruits and the profits of it. Be prepared, I would say, for high demands on your courage, your resolution and your skill. Except as the valiant spirit inspires it, constructive citizenship is nothing at all. Let the training of the citizen, in all its stages, be conceived of accordingly.'

THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A really valuable book, which deserves the attention of all who are interested in the text of the Old Testament and desirous of recapturing, so far as that is now possible, the original text, has been written by the Rev. Melville Scott, D.D. He believes that he has made important *Textual Discoveries in Proverbs, Psalms, and Isaiah* (S.P.C.K.; 8s. 6d. net), and that the method by which he has reached them may be fruitfully pursued through the remaining books of the Old Testament.

Rightly dissatisfied with the cavalier methods of certain scholars who have practically re-written instead of emending the text, Dr. Scott believes

that there is a more excellent way, of which one of the essential conditions is that the suggested emendation be graphically probable. In other words, he never allows his suggestion to stray far from the actual letters of the traditional text, whose difficulties he believes have often been created by the accidental transposition of the letters of a word or more often still by confusion between letters, not only between the familiar ו and װ, or ב and ן, or ה and ח—this has long been recognized—but between such letters as ד and ם, ך and ן, כ and ם. He illustrates his thesis by numerous passages from Proverbs, Psalms, and Isaiah, offering emendations which, if not all equally probable, are always worth considering, and not infrequently convincing. Among the latter may be mentioned the reading לֹא לִי for לֹלֵא in Ps 27¹³, which for the '(I had fainted) unless . . .' of E.V. yields the sense 'he that uttereth violence *against me*: I believed *not* that I should see,' etc. So for the enigmatic 'sides of the north' in Ps 48² Dr. Scott reads, 'Zion, *greatly treasured*,' for which use of צפון (ptc.) he compares Ezk 7²²; while in Pr 13²³ the change of רֵב into רֶב yields 'a *suit* at law devours the tillage of the poor.'

Some interesting quotations from an old book on the Psalter dated A.D. 1736 show that dissatisfaction both with the existing text and with the customary methods of improving it is not just a thing of yesterday, and Dr. Scott has little hope that further collation of MSS will yield results of any particular value. His own method and results have won the approval of no less distinguished a scholar than Professor Causse, who with Professors Jaeger and Ehrhardt recommended Dr. Scott on the strength of this book for the degree of Th.D. in the University of Strasbourg. The results of this same method of conjectural emendation are so interesting, and their potential value for a reconstructed text of the Old Testament so significant, that Dr. Scott is fully justified in expressing the modest hope that his work 'may receive a patient hearing from those best qualified to pass a verdict.'

RELATIVITY AND RELIGION.

The theory of Relativity is steadily making its influence felt in ever-widening realms of thought. This is inevitable if it be, as Weyl declares it to be, 'a cataclysm which has swept away space, time and matter hitherto regarded as the firmest pillars of natural science, but only to make place for a view of things of wider scope and entailing a deeper vision.' Wildon Carr has expressed his amazement

at his fellow-philosophers for 'their short-sightedness in imagining that philosophy can be indifferent to this stupendous revolution in science.' It may be admitted that the theologians are in no better case. Any serious attempt to wipe away this reproach is to be commended. Accordingly we warmly welcome *Relativity and Religion*, by Mr. H. Douglas Anthony, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S. (University of London Press; 6s. net). The writer would probably be the first to admit that his work was tentative. Two criticisms suggest themselves. In his exposition of the theory of Relativity use is made of mathematical symbols. All very well in their own place; but this is a book that deals with religion, and is presumably intended to be understood by the general reader. What enlightenment is there in telling us that the relation of past and future in two time-systems may be expressed in the form, $\omega_{\mu}(\gamma_{\mu} - b_{\mu}) = \sum_{\alpha} l_{\alpha} \omega_{\alpha} x_{\alpha}$? If, as Eddington predicts, 'a time will come when Einstein's amazing revelations will have sunk into the commonplaces of educated thought,' then mathematicians must learn to express these revelations in plain English. A second criticism is that in his exposition of the Christian faith (which is the only part of religion dealt with) the writer does not seem to go very far in tracing the bearings of Relativity. Certainly there is nothing here revolutionary. The position taken is simply that of modern liberalism.

These criticisms, however, need not be taken to mean more than that this is not a work of genius, for with so vast a field to survey and so overwhelming an inrush of new ideas, it would take a mind of the very highest order to systematize the whole and show its bearings in the remote regions of theology. This gigantic task awaits the efforts of many builders. Meantime let it be understood that Dr. Anthony's book is full of good things, and we owe him thanks for his gallant attempt.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

American educators in the religious sphere continue to work steadily at their great idea of a 'Project Principle.' This idea was explained recently in a special article in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, and last month we had occasion to commend some books which give guidance in the application of the principle. This month there are several more on the same lines and from the same source. We cannot be too grateful for the contributions which the University of Chicago Press is making to the subject of religious education. It has just

issued four new volumes. One is by May K. Cowles and belongs to the *Problems in Living* series (3s. 9d. net). It is for junior classes, and deals with such topics as 'Living with a Purpose,' 'Playing Fair in Games,' 'The Necessity and Dignity of Work,' 'The Use of Sunday,' and so on. The other three volumes are by Dr. Erwin L. Shaver, who has done so much to make the Project method known. They are called *A Christian's Education*, *A Christian's Patriotism*, and *The Other Fellow's Religion* (2s. 6d. net each). The topics are such as inevitably arise in connexion with such great fields. Each one is introduced by a definite incident or 'life situation,' and from this incident the problem emerges and is discussed. That is the 'Project' way of teaching religion and ethics, beginning with a concrete case and shoving off into the deeper waters from this start. The method is so well devised and conducted that we would do well to learn from the Americans. These books are calculated to be of priceless value to Bible Class teachers and to ministers, and we earnestly counsel any teachers reading this notice to procure and weigh these admirable guides. They are published in this country by the Cambridge University Press.

Adventures in the Minds of Men, by Dr. Lynn Harold Hough (Abingdon Press; \$1.50), is a collection of short articles, mainly on literary subjects, from various magazines. Some of them have a decided odour of the back number. Lloyd George is still Prime Minister, and Dr. Kelman is about to leave New York amid many regrets. It would perhaps be too much to say that the following sentence is typical: 'As I was leaving a certain office with a clergyman who has received the highest recognition in his own denomination, a well-known Englishman who wears his title without self-consciousness, looked whimsically at the two of us.' But there is more of this sort of thing than one cares to read. Yet the style throughout is bright and readable, and there are many literary judgments of value. The book concludes with some addresses on the equipment and work of the preacher, which are of more massive build and full of good things.

Messrs. Ernest Benn Ltd. are issuing a wonderful series of little books under the title 'Benn's Sixpenny Library.' A number of the issues have reached us out of the two hundred and fifty-two already published. Among these are, *Oliver Crom-*

well, by Mr. Hilaire Belloc; *Catholicism*, by Father M. C. D'Arcy, S.J.; *Russian Literature*, by Mr. Janko Lavrin; *The Weather: An Introduction to Climatology*, by Mr. C. E. P. Brooks, D.Sc., and *The Life of Christ*, by the Rev. R. J. Campbell, D.D. All these booklets are done by real authorities, and are a wonderful achievement at the price. The last-named, *The Life of Christ*, by Dr. R. J. Campbell, is an admirable treatment of a great theme, and worth far more than the modest coin that will purchase it. _____

With almost incredible industry and rapidity, the indefatigable Canon Sell continues his good work of expounding the Bible and the historico-religious movement which it represents, in the light of the best scholarship and in simple language intelligible to everybody. The two latest volumes to hand are *A Guide to the Study of the Canon of the Old and New Testaments* (C.M.S. Publication Department, Salisbury Square, E.C.4; 1s. 3d.) and *The Samaritan and Other Jewish Sects* (1s. 6d.). It was a good idea to supplement the long series of Old Testament Commentaries with these useful volumes, which happily link up the Old Testament with the New. The book on the Canon crystallizes the discussions of Ryle and Westcott in their longer books, and tells in clear and vivid fashion all about the growth and origin of the two Canons that the ordinary Bible needs to know, besides incidentally suggesting bibliographical guidance for those who may desire to pursue the subject further.

The volume on 'The Sects' deals successively with the Samaritans, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Essenes, and the Zealots, and traces the history from the first Assyrian deportation in 734 B.C. to the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Excellent use is made of such New Testament passages as contain allusions to these sects. Both volumes should effectually dispose of the pathetic fallacy that Biblical history and literature are dull: Canon Sell makes us feel that the men and the movements he describes were very much alive. We are assured that these volumes, written in India and primarily for Indian pastors, have excited interest in places as far distant as North America and Australia. We do not wonder. There are no more lucid or inexpensive presentations of the results of Biblical scholarship in the market to-day. The whole series of Old Testament commentaries, crowned by these supplementary volumes, would make an admirable working library for teachers or preachers who have not time for more elaborate studies.

The Rev. Frank Ballard, M.A., D.D., B.Sc., is a prolific writer in the field of Christian Apologetics, and his latest book, *Twentieth-Century Christianity* (T. & T. Clark; 6s. net), is among the most useful of all his works. In it he gives brief sketches, 'manifestly only vignettes,' of the various sections of Christendom and their tenets. Of these some are represented as 'perversions' of the Christian ideal and the rest as 'approximations' to it, and the discussion of them occupies the first part of the book. In the second and larger part the author develops his own views of the Christian ideal in its application, under the heading 'The Christianity of the Future.' His standpoint, at once conservative and modern, is indicated in these words: 'Ideal Christianity is a life based upon the acceptance of the truth concerning Jesus Christ, His person, character, and teaching, His death and resurrection, with the practice of His spirit, as these are set forth in the New Testament, when it is fairly interpreted by itself, in modern lights.' It is further indicated in these other words, catching up the former: 'To say that Christianity is a life . . . implies that the essence of Christianity is an experience, not a mere mental attitude; an ideal of character, not an ecclesiastical system; rational service, not blind submission to tradition, or superstition, or convention; an offer of blessing, not a threat of condemnation; communion with a loving Father, not cowering before an angry Judge.' If a further characterization of standpoint be desired, it may be said to be Modernist as opposed to Fundamentalist. In this connexion one is reminded of a typical chapter in Dr. Ballard's book, that entitled 'Evolution,' in which with the aid of quotations from contemporary writers he expresses his sympathy with essential Darwinism. For the rest, the style is clear and popular, and the author touches upon many topics of current interest, ending with a series of negatives and positives in which he summarily states his conclusions in matters of Christian doctrine.

In a little book, *Divorce and the Roman Dogma of Nullity* (T. & T. Clark; 1s. 6d. net), Archdeacon Charles embodies a course of sermons which he preached in Westminster Abbey last July. He points out that the Reformed Churches, following Matthew for the most part, allow of divorce in the case of unchastity and also the re-marriage of the guiltless, whereas the Roman Church, deriving its views ultimately from Mark, forbids divorce altogether. It is, however, the particular contention

of the present work that Mk 10²⁻¹² is unhistorical, and that Matthew deliberately rejected it as unhistorical, and that thus the only foundation in the Gospels for the dogma of the indissolubility of marriage disappears, and with it the still more erroneous Roman dogma of Nullity. Needless to say, Dr. Charles sets forth his views at once clearly and learnedly; and his book is written with refreshing vigour.

Professor John B. Champion, M.A., of the Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, offers a 'new and yet Scriptural' interpretation of the work of Christ in a volume of four hundred and fifty pages entitled *More Than Atonement* (Evangelical Press, Harrisburg, Pa.; \$2.50). The book bears the somewhat pretentious sub-title 'A Study in Genetic Theology.' What is meant to be conveyed is that unless theology has its genesis at Calvary 'it gets nowhere.' The book also announces itself somewhat flamboyantly. But it is a solid enough study in the Scriptural teaching on Atonement and related themes, set forth with an abundance, indeed a superabundance, of illustrative and quotational matter. The standpoint is that of the traditional orthodoxy of the 'blood-theology.' Here is a fair sample of the style: 'Theology with Calvary as its birthplace always proves true to the primacy of Redemption. Theology born on the Arctic ice-cakes of naturalism is naturally cold to the Cross; but the theology born of the passion of Redemption and with the divine warmth of the blood of Christ pulsing through it can never freeze in the soul's veins.'

Four useful and informative lectures are comprised in Mr. W. G. Hanson's volume on *The Early Monastic Schools of Ireland* (Heffer; 3s. 6d. net), in which accounts are given of their missionaries, saints, and scholars. The author makes no pretension of being an expert in this obscure region of Church History, but he has been diligent in consulting authoritative writers, such as W. P. Ker and R. L. Poole. The first lecture shows how in the sixth century or earlier the whole of Ireland was practically turned into a University, in which the knowledge of Latin and Greek was conserved. The second lecture treats in particular of St. Columban, the greatest of the many scholar-monks of Ireland who passed over to the European Continent. The third treats briefly of the scholars of the eighth and ninth centuries, an age of 'epigons'; while the fourth is devoted to John Scotus Erigena, the one great thinker of the West in that dreary

epoch, who has been classed with Bishop Berkeley as one of the two men of religious genius whom Ireland has produced. —

The Effects of the Reformation on Ideals of Life and Conduct, by the Rev. F. K. Chaplin, M.A. (Heffer; 5s. net), is the Hulsean Prize Essay for 1925. It is an exceedingly careful and scholarly piece of work, showing a well-balanced judgment and wide reading. An earnest attempt is made to trace the complex moral effects of the great liberating movement of the sixteenth century, a movement which swept along much mud and refuse in its impetuous course. The writer quotes Warneck (whom he repeatedly refers to as Warnack) in support of the statement that 'the view held by the Reformers was that systematic missionary activity was the duty of the Apostles alone.' This is hardly borne out by the evidence, for it was the dogmatists of a later time who developed the doctrine of the *Personale Privilegium*, though, as Warneck says, its germ may be found in Melancthon. The Counter-Reformation is shown to have been, not merely a vigorous attack on Protestantism, but a real moral and religious revival within the Roman Church. The vitality and progress of that Church in modern times is fully acknowledged, but the grave charge is made that 'the maintenance of Papal supremacy involves, in the words of Bishop Gore, "a constant perversion of truth."' The general conclusion reached is that 'Rome is rendering, and is destined to render, notable services to mankind, but the restoration of its ancient supremacy in this country would be a grave spiritual disaster. The Roman version of Christianity is inadequate for modern needs. Its incapacity for reform disqualifies it for the spiritual leadership of free and civilized peoples.' —

The Greatest Book in the World, by the late Rev. T. H. Darlow (Hodder & Stoughton; 2s. 6d. net), makes very fresh and interesting reading. Many histories of the Bible have been written, but this is something different. It is in the best sense a popular account of the development of Scripture and its influence upon civilization. Its vitality under modern criticism and its triumphs when brought into contact with all races are fully set forth and illustrated. The whole is admirably fitted to confirm faith in the Bible and to commend it afresh as the ever-living Word of God. —

The modern preacher, whatever his faults, at least tries to be interesting. He knows that his

first business is to capture the attention of his hearers. The Rev. Ernest Dowsett has shown in previous books that he has this gift, and in *The Man with the Plumb-Line* (Hunter & Longhurst; 2s. 6d. net) he has given a most readable 'series of addresses on the moral influence of Christ.' They are thoughtful, pictorial, and lit up with apt illustrations. —

What makes a man a Congregationalist? The question is suggested by *A Hundred Eminent Congregationalists, 1530-1924*, by the Rev. Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D. (Independent Press; 2s. 6d. net). The list includes Milton and Bunyan, on whom the Baptists have some claim—but then the Baptists are Congregationalists. It includes also Scots Presbyterians like Livingstone and James Chalmers, who served the London Missionary Society, which was regarded in Scotland and supported as practically an undenominational mission. Livingstone said that if he had been at home in 1843 he would have joined the Free Church. The biographies, necessarily very brief, are careful and accurate, as far as one can judge, and they will form a useful Congregationalist Who's Who. —

Reprinted from the Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society is a suggestive little discussion by Israel W. Slotki on *Faded Letters in Ancient Texts*, who illustrates by an examination of Ezk 16⁴ 18¹⁰ and especially 21²⁰ (E.V. 21¹⁸) the thesis that our present Hebrew text has sometimes resulted from the incorporation of an explanatory marginal note into a text some of whose letters had become faded. On the original text of 21²⁰ he conjectures 'That the heart may faint I set it against my people: it is a two-edged sword, yet a sword of supernatural panic' (חרב איש באחי) — a conjecture which gets rid of the awkward word אבחה. Naturally such conjectures, however plausible, fall a long way short of certainty. —

The Rev. W. Lockton, B.D., Vice-Principal of Winchester Diocesan Training College, is a diligent writer on the problem of the Four Gospels. His most recent work, *Certain Alleged Gospel Sources* (Longmans; 3s. 6d. net), is a booklet supplementary to his volume on 'The Three Traditions in the Gospels.' In it he offers a study of Q, Proto-Luke, and M. He submits some considerations which in his opinion tell against the existence of such documents as Proto-Luke and M (a Judaistic source of Matthew, according to Dr. Streeter), against the Mark-Q hypothesis generally, and, accordingly,

against the supposed priority of Mark. His positive conclusions are not generally accepted, but he is on the whole satisfied with them himself.

Professor Peake has done well to publish separately his discussion of *Elijah and Jezebel* (Longmans ; 1s. 6d. net) which appeared first in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. The stories of the Elijah cycle, while dealt with in Commentaries on 'Kings,' have seldom in English received the connected treatment which they here receive ; and there could be no better initiation than this into the historical and religious problems which they involve. Dr. Peake argues that the Tyrian cult almost certainly must have received a set-back in the reign of Ahab, and that the implied rebuke of Elijah in 1 K 19⁹ is directed not against the violence of his methods, but against his abandonment of his post, and against his error in thinking that Yahweh was more truly to be found at Horeb than in Palestine ; a return to Moses was a retrograde step. This is a fine specimen of scientific discussion, which will be welcomed by all careful students of the Old Testament.

A most helpful book on the Lord's Supper has been written by the Rev. H. A. Wilson, Rector of Cheltenham, *At the Lord's Table* (Longmans ; 1s. 6d.). There is a multitude of books of this kind, but few better than this. It deals in a thoroughly useful way with such matters as preparation for the service, and it explains the service itself fully and simply, besides providing suitable prayers and meditations for different parts of the service. No one with this book in his hands could fail to guide aright the youthful catechumen in his first steps as a communicant member of the Church.

Evidence intended to prove that the Caucasus Isthmus was the homeland of the Egyptians, Mesopotamians, Semites, Greeks, and Aryans is presented in *The Deluged Civilization of the Caucasus Isthmus*, by Reginald Aubrey Fessenden, Professor of Post-graduate Mathematics and Electrical Engineering in the University of Pittsburg. The first six chapters of this work were published in 1923. Chapter VII., on what the author calls 'The Location of the Pillars and Underground Record Chambers of the Cabeiri,' and Chapter VIII., on the homeland of Abraham, have not yet been published. Chapter IX., on the land of Gilgamesh and the Creation legends of Mesopotamia, appeared in the 'Christian Science Monitor,' 18th March 1924, and Chapter X., on the Greek homeland, in that

paper, 8th March 1926. Chapter XI. has now been issued (Massachusetts Bible Society, Boston, U.S.A. ; \$2.00). This chapter contains a comparison of some of the Caucasian place-names with some of the more important and distinctive Egyptian and Aryan ones in the *Book of the Dead* or the *Vedas*. That the Caucasus tribes were at least the originators of Egyptian civilization is believed by many Egyptologists, partly on ethnological evidence and partly on proofs afforded by an examination of a large number of Egyptian skulls of mummies. The natural features of the Caucasus Isthmus seem to be identical with those referred to in the *Book of the Dead*, and Sir Flinders Petrie has shown that the Badarian type of pottery had travelled down from the Caucasus to Egypt. The author, in regarding the Isthmus as the homeland also of the Mesopotamians and Semites, will probably find many supporters. The region between the Black Sea and the Caspian certainly possessed at one time a civilization analogous to that of Elam and of Sumer, and there seems to be some evidence that its people, both by infiltration and invasion, took possession of these districts. On this theory, the author naturally places the Ur of Abraham, not in Southern Babylonia, but on the crest of the Caucasus, where the tribes were named Ach-ur. He is on surer ground when stating that the great nomadic tribes north of the Caucasus were the ancestors of the Aryan-speaking race. Neither ethnologists nor Biblical students will agree with all his statements, but the chapter just issued, like the others, shows a considerable amount of scholarship, as well as an intimate geographical knowledge of the Caucasus regions.

From Messrs. Marshall Brothers have come five volumes—*Life Radiant*, *Rainbows of the Soul*, *Eternal Realities of the Present Life*, *Look from the Top*, and *Come, ye Children*.

The *Life Radiant* contains studies of a helpful nature on the fully consecrated life. The author is the Rev. Canon F. J. Horsefield, D.D., and the price is 2s. 6d. net. The title is taken from the first chapter and from the words in Ps 34⁵, the translation of which in the American Revised Version is 'They looked unto him and were radiant.'

Rainbows of the Soul is by the Rev. A. Douglas Adams, M.A., Vicar of Wimborne, St. John (5s. net). It is a volume of addresses embodying the old evangelical message, and the graciousness of the Master is in it.

A volume of earnest evangelical addresses with

the title *Eternal Realities of the Present Life* is by Louisa Clayton (3s. 6d net). There is a Foreword by the Rev. J. Russell Howden. 'Anything which sends us to our Bibles to search out for ourselves God's "exceeding great and precious promises" is to be welcomed. In this book God's servant has gathered together some "handfuls of meal" for His people. 'The reaffirmation to ourselves of God's gracious purposes for us cannot fail to strengthen our faith. At a time when the hearts of many are failing them for fear, may the message of this book be an inspiration and power to such.'

There are a number of illustrations. For example, on 2 Co 12⁹ Prebendary Webb-Peploe's experience is quoted. 'He said that when he was staying at Saltburn-on-Sea in 1919 his baby died suddenly, and he had to carry the little body 400 miles back to his home in Herefordshire and the people on the crowded platforms rubbed against him and it hurt him very much. The next day was Sunday, and he chose for his text, "My grace is sufficient for thee." He began to write his sermon, and then he glanced at the same text on the wall of his study. His mother had worked it and given it to him some years before, and the little word "*is*" was picked out in yellow so as to give it prominence. After trying to write for two hours he laid down his pen and burst into tears and prayed, "*O God, it is not true. I do not find it sufficient; please make it sufficient; do let it be clear to me.*"

'Then suddenly a voice seemed to say to him, "How can you ask God to make it sufficient when He says it is; how dare you doubt Him? Get up and believe what He says and you will find it true." Then the dark cloud passed away, and it never returned.'

Mrs. Ethel E. Chilvers is the author of *Studies from 'The Song of Solomon'* which she originally delivered at Bethesda Baptist Chapel, Ipswich, and at Spurgeon's Tabernacle, London. The title is *Look from the Top* (6s. net). The 'Song' is dealt with 'throughout from the standpoint of its spiritual application to the life of the present-day believer, rather than as an interpretation of its historical and dispensational setting.'

Come, ye Children is thirty-two short addresses to boys and girls, several dealing with subjects such as death and immortality, which this teacher, the Rev. William McNeill, knows are difficult of approach (2s. 6d. net).

Science and Faith, by Mr. W. G. Radley, B.Sc. (Morgan & Scott; 1s. net), is a little book which

may be read with profit even by those who have no knowledge of modern science. It is written in an interesting and popular style by one who combines a knowledge of science with a firm Christian faith. 'The God whom our forefathers pictured as dwelling in His heaven very close above the blue, has become the God whose realm extends into distances which almost appal the imagination. But He is just the same God. Our outlook has changed, but He has not changed. He is still the One who came to seek and to save that which was lost—mankind.'

The President of the Moody Bible Institute, the Rev. James M. Gray, D.D., would doubtless call himself a Fundamentalist. At any rate, in *My Faith in Jesus Christ* (Oliphants; 6s. net) he follows their style of argumentation. It is all very logical and convincing to those who accept his premises, but to other minds it will not carry conviction. The writer is earnestly contending for the faith, but one could wish that there were some recognition of the fact that others may find their way to that same faith by a different route.

A book of considerable interest, and (its author believes) of real importance, is *Eden and After*, by Mr. J. Gibson Smith (Otago Daily Times, Dunedin, New Zealand; 2s. 8d.). Though it is a book of verse, it is really a theological work. And its main thesis is that the inferior man-like creatures, discovered by science and called men, were not men at all but animals, and that the soul is a purely novel creation. He would repudiate Professor Arthur Thomson's doctrine, expounded in his Gifford Lectures, that the highest in man was implicit all the time from the lowest form of life. The novel thing in Mr. Smith's book is that, while thus repudiating an ape-like ancestry for man, he is willing to accept all the real discoveries of Darwinism and is indeed a believer in evolution. The acceptance of the scientific theory that our simian ancestors were really *men* is, he thinks, a nightmare due to diabolic agency. All this is expounded in a long introduction. Then follow the poems in which his doctrine is sung. And very well sung too. We have no hesitation in saying that the book is worth considering.

Two books on Immortality have just appeared. The subject seems perennially attractive to writers and readers alike. For we hardly issue a number of this magazine without at least one notice of a book on the subject. One of the two referred to is *Life, Death and After*, by the Rev. F. G. Goddard,

M.A., B.D., the Vicar of Jesmond (Scott; 2s. 6d. net). It is on traditional lines for the most part. But it strikes a definite note, and one that will be welcome to many readers, when it contends not only that we shall know one another in the other world, but also that we may pray for the dead as they do for us. Every subject (like Survival, the Intermediate State, Is there a Second Chance? and Spiritualism) is discussed with ability, common sense, and persuasiveness. The book can be cordially commended to all specially in need of comfort and to those in need of light and faith.

The other book is *Immortality*, by Mr. I. Harris, M.D. (Williams & Norgate; 2s. 6d. net). Frankly, it is a little difficult to make out what Dr. Harris believes on the point. His general contention seems to be that man is simply an expression and embodiment of the great forces of the universe, that he is without real freedom, and that his immortality is of a somewhat vague nature. 'Man and the work of man remain forever indestructible. Man and his doings are as enduring as the whole universe. Nothing can be changed. Every deed, all occurrences become a part of cosmic existence, as enduring as the universe.' And 'death is merely a conclusion of individual activity.' Cold comfort. But the book is able and interesting.

Messrs. Skeffington & Son have issued three books of excellent religious reading. The first is a volume of *Sermons for Matins*, i., edited by the Rev. J. H. Burn, B.D. (6s. net). It covers the period from Advent to Trinity Sunday. Eleven of the sermons are by Dr. Alfred Plummer, and in general the list of preachers is a strong one. The tone of the sermons is expository and devotional.

Life's Silver Lining, by the Rev. Tickner Edwardes (5s. net), is defined in the sub-title as 'Thoughts about Christ's Religion for those who find the World Dark.' It contains no fewer than one hundred and eighty-seven brief meditations on Scripture texts, all of a strengthening and helpful kind. The writer believes that 'God does not remove the mountains of trouble from our path—why should He, seeing that He has put them there, or wisely suffers them to be there, for our good? But He does, by right of our willing claim to be His faithful servants, place in our hands the "new sharp threshing instrument" by which we can beat them small for ourselves.'

Heaven, by the Rev. Septimus Hebert, M.A. (2s. 6d. net), is an exposition of some of the religious ideas underlying the symbolism of 'St. John's last vision in Revelation xxi.-xxii.' The writer is

not interested in controversy or in questions of criticism. 'There is no religious controversy in this book. It is neither High Church, nor Low Church, nor Broad Church. It might be read as well by the Roman Catholic as by the Salvation Army captain.' And, it may be added, they will all find in it much that is sane and Christian.

The World-Wide Call, by the Rev. H. P. Thompson, M.A. (S.C.M.; 4s. net), is a popular presentation of the situation underlying the recent World Call Reports. It contains a series of swift and vivid pictures of present-day movements in Japan, China, India, Africa, and the Muslim world, especially as they affect the propagation of the gospel. Another chapter, perhaps the most striking of all, is given to our own people overseas, in which is presented a wonderful panorama of the world-wide activities of the British race. The whole survey gives point to a stirring missionary appeal. 'The missionary duty is rooted in the very nature of God, and is always binding on every Christian. But there come times when in a special degree the way seems prepared for a wider advance of God's Kingdom, and the call seems to come with special clearness to His Church. To-day is such a time.'

The British Connection with India, by Mr. K. T. Paul (5s. net), is a volume issued by the Student Christian Movement with the object of informing public opinion in this country about the efforts of the natives of India to secure a greater measure of what may be called Home Rule. There is a wholly sympathetic introduction to the volume by the Earl of Ronaldshay, formerly Governor of Bengal. Mr. Paul has arranged the contents with skill. He disclaims being the mouthpiece of any organization with which he is connected; he writes his own personal views. Now that the Government has appointed a Statutory Commission to inquire into, and report to the Imperial Parliament on, the very big question of the future government of our great Dependency, it is an advantage that we at home, who really are ill-informed about intelligent native opinion as represented, for example, in the Indian National Congress, should learn from so capable an authority as Mr. Paul.

The Cambridge University Press, despite the efforts of 'Big Bill Thompson,' maintains its high reputation for the production of books of sound scholarship. Having completed a monumental work in its translation of the Old and New Testaments, it has issued in handy form *The Student's*

Gospels (English publishers, Cambridge University Press; 5s. net), edited by Dr. Shailer Mathews and Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed. It contains a harmony of the Synoptic Gospels in parallel columns, with the Gospel of John appended, all rendered according to the excellent American translation of Dr. Goodspeed. This makes a very convenient pocket edition.

Messrs. Watts & Co. are issuing a series of small books at sevenpence each under the title of 'The Forum' Series. Two of these include Professor Sir Arthur Keith's Presidential Address to the British Association in August last—*Concerning Man's Origin*, and *The Earth, Its Nature and History*, by Mr. Edward Greenly, D.Sc. These are both scientific, but also popular and authoritative, and well worth having.

The sixth *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Yale University Press, New Haven) contains not a few things of interest to others than scholars. A brief sketch of the history of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem founded in 1900, and that of Baghdad, opened in 1923, is followed by a fascinating essay

by W. F. Albright on 'The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age,' in the course of which the writer, dealing with the Dead Sea, says, 'it seems perfectly rational to assume the correctness of the traditional view that the Cities of the Plain are now buried under the waters of the Dead Sea.' As against most recent criticism, he further defends the substantial historicity of Gn 14, which he regards as based upon an old poetic saga or epic. This illustrates the growing tendency to lay more stress upon tradition than till lately criticism has been inclined to do. Another essay deals with the private archives of a prominent family, composed in a dialect of Accadian, which throw much curious light on the social conditions of the time, and in parts vividly illustrate the Old Testament. W. H. P. Hatch offers a description, with illustrations, of a visit to the Coptic convents of Nitria, a desolate valley in the Libyan Desert. He is of opinion that the ancient blood of Egypt is far better preserved in 'these people'—the Copts—'than is ancient Greece or Rome in the modern Greeks or Italians.' The volume gives us a fine insight into the varied and valuable work of Oriental research, as conducted by Americans.

Our Lord's Teaching on the Kingdom of Heaven.

BY THE REVEREND W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., ILFORD.

It is quite unprofitable to argue whether the Fatherhood of God or the Kingdom of God occupied the principal place in the teaching of our Lord. For whichever of these two great themes is regarded as predominant, the fact remains that tremendous stress is laid by our Lord upon the other. Our concern is with His instructions on the Kingdom of God. That this subject held a conspicuous and habitual place in His teaching is beyond dispute.

It may be said with certainty that the phrase which our Lord employed was Kingdom of Heaven, rather than Kingdom of God. For the habitual custom of the Jewish people was to substitute other expressions for the Holy Name. The Book of Daniel furnishes illustrations of this use, when it speaks of the Highest and the King of Heaven. Similarly, in the New Testament, the High Priest calls God 'the Blessed,' and the Prodigal Son

speaks of having 'sinned against Heaven.' Our Lord would almost certainly follow the Jewish use. Indeed, it is significant that the most Jewish Gospel adopts the phrase the 'Kingdom of Heaven,' whereas the phrase 'Kingdom of God' is adopted in writings designed for the Gentile world, where, as H. J. Holtzmann observes, the latter phrase would be more intelligible. It is clear, therefore, that the two are synonymous.

The phrase 'Kingdom of Heaven' was already in common use and had a history before our Lord adopted it. It is therefore indispensable to know what meaning it possessed for the Jewish people. It is all the more essential to know this because the term is nowhere expressly defined by our Lord in His teaching. The idea is evidently regarded as one quite familiar to all His hearers. What, then, was the conception which the term represented to our Lord's contemporaries? There is

little doubt about the answer. Schürer, in his *History of the Jewish People*, shows that the Kingdom of Heaven represented for Jewish thought a Divine Society, a sphere over which Jehovah was Lord and King, partly political but essentially religious, an external association on earth within which the will of God is fulfilled. This Kingdom of Heaven was to be visible within the world. It would have its headquarters at Jerusalem. It was the Kingdom of the Messiah. Over it the Messiah would preside. Deliverance would be secured to Israel, which would be supreme among the nations. Of course, the qualities of this conception varied with the religious insight and spiritual depth of the individual mind. But, broadly speaking, these were the general ideas associated with the Kingdom. What emerges beyond question is that the conception was essentially and profoundly institutional.

That, indeed, is natural, almost inevitable. For all ancient religion is essentially corporate. The individual acquired his value as a member within the community. And further, it is clear the Kingdom of Heaven in the Jewish view 'was not regarded as a human achievement, either individual or social, but as an institution erected by the sovereign act of God' (Cooley, *The Aim of Jesus Christ*). The Kingdom was from Heaven, but upon earth. Not a Kingdom in Heaven and so to be entered only after death. Still less was it regarded merely as a state of mind or inner condition of religious peace (*ibid.* 52, 53).

We may be absolutely certain that when our Lord adopted the phrase 'Kingdom of Heaven' He transfigured it, as He did all other great historic religious terms, filling them all with immeasurably deeper meaning. 'Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit.' But while He glorified all religious phrases, He did not contradict their essential value. And unless He intended by the phrase 'Kingdom of Heaven' to convey an institutional idea, His use of it could only have been for His contemporaries hopelessly misleading.

The fact is that Institutionalism was the essential character of the Religion of Israel in which our Lord grew up. And there is no sign that He ever rejected this principle. On the contrary, He claimed that He had come 'not to destroy, but to fulfil.' That claim must not be minimized. Our Lord's attitude toward the Institution of Israel was never revolutionary or destructive. He seems to regard the Kingdom, whatever contents that term involves, as the natural consummation of Israel's development, provided always that Israel

is prepared to accomplish its divinely intended mission. Indeed, if the hierarchy of Israel had accepted Jesus as the Messiah, it is quite conceivable that the Institutionalism of Israel would have assumed a Christian form, and that no separation between Judaism and Christianity need have happened.

While our Lord's conception of the Kingdom of Heaven is nowhere defined, it is richly illustrated in the Parables. These illustrations are at first bewildering by their variety. But a number of recent foreign theologians, such as H. J. Holtzmann and Feine, have shown that the Parables unmistakably emphasize certain leading characteristics of the Kingdom.

There are parables which regard the Kingdom as a personal and individual possession. It is a treasure which a man must acquire. It is an inward state. There are other parables which regard the same Kingdom as a social and corporate institution. It is compared to a net which gathers of every kind.

These two aspects of the Kingdom must be united. Neither can be excluded from our Lord's teaching. The Kingdom is individual, in separate hearts and lives. But it is also collective and institutional. The Parable of the Treasure emphasizes the personal side of religion. The Parable of the Net as unmistakably emphasizes the social. The Kingdom of Heaven, in our Lord's conception of it, cannot be adequately represented by calling it the reign of God. It is indeed God's reign. But it is a reign over human beings; and over human beings not contemplated in pure isolation, but as associated within a corporate institution.

A third characteristic of the Kingdom appears in the parables. It is future and yet it is present, *i.e.* 'The kingdom of God is at hand' (Mt 4¹⁷), 'The kingdom of God is come upon you' (Mt 12²⁸). It develops and matures. It is in its beginnings insignificant, but grows to completion. It exists here on earth in a mixed, imperfect state. For it includes the worthy and the worthless: It will exist hereafter in a perfect condition by the exclusion of the unworthy. But it was here in our Lord's time, and some who were then living would see it come with power (Mk 9¹). It is placed in the Lord's Prayer to be perpetually before the minds of His people.

One further characteristic of the Kingdom is that it is essentially Messianic. It is the Kingdom over which the Messiah presides. Accordingly, where Christ and His disciples were assembled, there in principle the Kingdom was already realized.

It is supremely important that the Messianic character of the Kingdom of Heaven should be carefully borne in mind. Christ's teaching about the Kingdom cannot be otherwise understood.

To our Lord's teaching about the Kingdom must be added His teaching about the Church.

The doubts which certain critics have suggested whether our Lord could ever have spoken about the Church are felt by various leading scholars to be destitute of any solid proof. Batiffol's reply in *L'Église Naissante* has fairly set those doubts aside. The term 'the Church' was already familiar in the Greek translation of the Old Testament, and no conclusive reason can be given why our Lord should not have spoken some Aramaic equivalent to the word.

More serious is the doubt which some have felt whether our Lord, who is thought, from the discourses in St. Matthew, to have expected the speedy end of the world, could have had any intention to found the Church. This difficulty is real. But it depends upon the exposition of the eschatological discourses, which is itself a problem, and by no means solved. Beside those discourses must be set the passages where our Lord undoubtedly speaks as if the end of human history was distant. For example, in Mt 24, 'Many shall come in my name, saying, I am the Christ; and shall lead many astray. And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for these things must needs come to pass; but the end is not yet' (vv.^{5, 6}). This passage distinctly suggests a considerable period during which a series of events would happen. See further vv.⁷⁻¹³. The same passage further declares, 'this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations; and then shall the end come' (v.¹⁴). What makes these statements all the more significant is that they come from the same Gospel which reports the eschatological discourses, and, in fact, form an introduction to them; cf. further Mt 10¹⁸, where our Lord predicts that the disciples will be brought before governors and kings for His sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles. That again suggests an extended and world-wide mission. Again, when our Lord warns Israel that the Kingdom of God would be taken away from them and given to another people (Mt 21⁴³), the idea implied

is certainly very different from the immediate end of the world. Moreover, the Parable of the Tares affirms that the separation of evil from good is postponed: 'Let both grow together until the harvest.'

St. Matthew then reports our Lord's intention to build His Church. It is a community of men. Authority in it will be exercised by a man. It will exist on earth, and its official actions will be endorsed in Heaven. It is ensured perpetuity.

The relation between the Church and the Kingdom of Heaven is suggested by the very remarkable fact that our Lord combines the mention of the two in one sentence. He will found His Church: He will give to an official in it the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. The keys of the Kingdom will be employed within the Church. What else than the very intimate connexion of the Church with the Kingdom can be thereby intended? As Loisy says, 'Christ proclaimed the Kingdom, and what appeared was the Church.' Do not the two appear as interchangeable?

Significant also is the fact that whereas our Lord, with only two exceptions, invariably speaks of the Kingdom and not of the Church, St. Paul almost reverses this use of terms. He speaks of the Church four times as often as he does of the Kingdom. Is not the reason plain? The Kingdom of Heaven is a Jewish expression and less intelligible to the Gentile world. The Church became the habitual designation for the reality which our Lord proclaimed.

If, with this teaching of our Lord in view, we study the principal actions of His ministry, the whole Gospel proves that He was engaged in the training of the Twelve, with the result that He formed a community. The Twelve were not only united to Himself, but also to one another. They formed a Body which, with the teaching He had given them, was what our Lord at His Ascension bequeathed to the world. Out of the training and instruction of this group arose the Church. He could look on that insignificant Galilean group and say, 'Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.' The Jerusalem community contained three elements of doctrine, ministry, and sacrament. And all these through the action of our Lord. What Christ did throws light on what Christ taught.

In the Study.

Virginibus Puerisque.

His Master's Voice.

BY THE REVEREND STUART ROBERTSON, M.A.,
GLASGOW.

'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.'—Ph 4¹³.

THAT title at once makes us think of the clever picture we have seen on a hundred gramophone records: a dog hearing his master's voice, recognizing it, and looking down the trumpet to see where it is coming from. It is not about that I wish to talk, but it is a dog story I want to tell you. I think all girls and boys are fond of dogs, and every one likes a good dog story. Some of the best stories in the world are about dogs.

There is the story of Ulysses: how he came home after all his adventures so changed that nobody knew him, not even his wife, save only two—his old nurse who knew him by a scar on his knee, and his dog who knew him by that strange instinct which makes a dog such a faithful friend of man.

There is the story of Llewellyn's dog, Gelert, who killed the wolf and saved the baby, and was killed by his hasty master. It happened long ago, but still in North Wales there is a place called Beddgelert, where people go to see Gelert's grave—a dog's grave.

Scotland gives us the story of Greyfriars Bobby, the little Scotch terrier who lay every night for years on his master's grave, couldn't be driven away, and at last died there. The children in the shabby houses that overlooked the graveyard cleaned their dirty windows because they wanted to see 'Bobby,' and their homes were more full of light, and perhaps their hearts were more full of love, because a little dog was faithful to his dead master. When he died, a drinking-fountain was set up with his statue on it, and all the city did honour to the loving faithfulness of 'Wee Bobby,' and to-day 'Bobby' is the favourite name for Scotch terriers.

Well, it was just such another little Scotch terrier in a city street. He had rambled and raced out of his master's sight, and his master, missing him, went to look for him. At last he saw him being hounded and pelted down the road by a lot of noisy children. He was desperately frightened, his tail was down, and he looked wildly here and there for a way of escape. What could he do

against these boys? How big they were! How loud their voices! So he was running and running hard.

Then he heard a voice call, 'Jock!' He stopped and pricked up his ears. It was his master's voice! He couldn't see him yet, but he knew he was there and would stand by him. He was not friendless or forgotten. Up came his tail half-way and wagged like a semaphore, as much as to say 'Message received.'

Then up went his tail like a standard of battle. He didn't whine now, but gave one joyous yelp and turned on his tormentors, barking furiously. He ran now, not from them, but at them. Now it was they who ran, for boys that would pelt a little dog are great cowards. He chased them down the street in headlong rout and then came back to his master, his tail waving like a flag of triumph, barking exultantly as if to say, 'We've done it! They were too much for me, but they couldn't stand up against us.' Such heart did the sound of his master's voice put into a little dog and made him more than conqueror through one that loved him.

Girls and boys, we, too, have a Master who loves us and can make us more than conquerors. He never leaves us, but we often leave Him and then we get into difficulties and think we are alone and forgotten. But He cannot forget. He is watching. Do you remember the disciples in the storm? It was dark. The wind was contrary. They weren't making any headway, and worst of all, 'Jesus was not come to them.' They were afraid and losing courage. Then He came. They heard His voice. They 'willingly received him into the ship and very quickly the ship was at the land that they were going to.' I think that just means that His voice put heart and strength into them and they mastered the waves and won to the shore.

'I can do all things,' says St. Paul, 'through Christ which strengtheneth me.' Long ago in Scotland, when the people were fighting a sore and desperate battle against the power of the Church of Rome, they said about John Knox that his voice 'is able in one hour to put more life in us than five hundred trumpets continually blustering at once in our ears.'

So the voice of Jesus has brought cowed spirits to their feet again, and made faint hearts brave to win back lost battles. In the ship in the storm

when every one was afraid, how was it that St. Paul, not a soldier, nor a sailor, but just a man who till then had been frightened like every one else, could suddenly stand up and bid them all 'be of good cheer'? Read on, and you will find out. It was because he had heard the voice of Jesus saying, 'Fear not, Paul.'

Stand up! stand up for Jesus!
The trumpet-call obey.

The voice of Jesus is the trumpet-call. It never sounds for retreat, but always for victory.

The Lutine Bell.

By THE REVEREND T. CROUTHER GORDON, D.F.C.,
B.D., PITLOCHRY.

'There is joy in the presence of the angels of God.'—Lk 15¹⁰.

Do you know what 'Ar' means? If you hear your Daddy refer to a new pair of boots, he will say 'They are Ar.' Now you know what he means by that—they are very good. They are first-class. There is nothing better. 'Ar' means the front rank.

But where does 'Ar' come from? I will tell you. There is a big office in London called Lloyds, where the name of every ship has to be written in a big book, and against every ship they put a letter, which shows whether it is a good ship or a bad ship, and when they put 'Ar' against a ship it means that is the best kind of ship afloat. It is registered 'Ar' at Lloyds.

Now supposing you and I were to go walking through this big office in London, we should come to a very important room, where there are a great many men walking about, doing business. And in that room we should see a bell hung up. If we looked close at the bell, we would see the name 'Lutine' inscribed on it. This bell belonged to a ship called the *Lutine*, which was shipwrecked sixty years ago. But it was a valuable ship. It was full of gold. The gold was not in sovereigns and half-sovereigns, but in chunks. It was rough and heavy. So valuable was this cargo that they sent down divers, who brought the gold up and with the gold they brought the bell, and this is how the bell was saved.

But, you ask, what good is a bell in a big office in London? It serves a great purpose, for the people ring the bell at certain times. When all the men are walking about and talking business, suddenly this bell will be rung, and the whole place will be dead still. Everybody stops talking.

For when that bell rings, it means that a ship is lost. Away out on the sea, where the waves are mountains high, some ship is going down. Or perhaps away in the fog and mist some ship has lost her way. And all the people stand still and silent when the bell rings.

You and I, boys and girls, are all little ships. We are sailing across the ocean of life. There are storms to face. There are fogs and mists to meet. We are carrying with us very rich cargo. It is far richer than gold or silver. It is called character. And there is a place where people are standing still and silent when we are lost. It is called heaven. Jesus told us that there is joy in the presence of the angels when we turn to God and are saved, and so there must be sorrow when we are lost. When we give in to some mean desire, when we tell a deliberate lie, because we hate somebody, when we play truant at school, these are the times when we are striking the rocks and our little boat is lost. Then the bell rings in heaven, and Jesus looks down, with all our friends in heaven, and He is very sad and sorrowful. It hurts Him to think that we are going down.

Into the night, forlornly bright

There came a little ship of gold,
Without a name, she passed in flame,
With cargoes never to be told,
Out of a port unknown,
Swinging to death alone.

But the work of the bell is not finished. Bells are made for joy as well as sorrow. Nothing is so sweet as the marriage bell. And when this Lutine Bell is struck the second time, all the men in the big office are delighted and glad. They smile to each other. Sometimes they shake each other by the hand. There is joy everywhere, because when the bell is struck the second time it means that the vessel is reported safe and sound. It means that a boat that had been given up for lost has returned to port again.

And, we are told, it is just the same in heaven. When we give up our wrong ways, and guide our little ship of gold back to the right path, when we are very sorry for all the wrong that we have done, when we say that we will do better in the future, then the bells of heaven are ringing and there is joy in the presence of the angels.

But do you know that the bell in heaven has got an echo? The echo reaches all the road to us. Have you never heard it? What a pity! A little boy I know was walking along the street one day in a big city, when he saw a blind man

standing on the pavement. The blind man wanted to cross the street, but he was afraid of the traffic. So the little boy rushed forward and, grasping him by the hand, took him to the other side, and when he went home that day the little boy heard the echo of the bells of heaven in his heart.

The Christian Year.

SEXAGESIMA.

The Crowning Quality.

'He that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.'—Mk 13¹³.

1. *Life's increasing test.*—The greatest and most enviable form of power in human experience is staying-power. Life seems peculiarly designed for the discovery in us of such staying-power, for most lives grow harder and harder as the years multiply. There is a sense in which the experience of Jesus is the epitome of that of all mankind. The tragic last phase, with its unspeakable agony in the Garden and upon the Cross, was but the final unfolding of the meaning of the first temptations and of the repeated tests of His loyalty to God and man which studded the path of His life. And perhaps of all the wonderful things He ever said none was more welcome to Himself than His cry of victory from the Cross, 'It is finished.' Most lives tend towards the same type of experience. Perhaps there are exceptions—lives that begin in storm and stress and seem to ride for the rest of their days in a calm and pleasant roadstead. Yet even of these one suspects that in their success and in their serenity there may be a more subtle test of their spiritual condition than they suspect; and one that is the harder, therefore, to meet and satisfy. But for most of us the fight gets harder; life becomes more complicated, not less, as the number and responsibility of its relationships increase. As the powers of the body move forward to maturity, revealing the full strength of animal passion that is in the best of men, and as they just as steadily begin to wane, bringing the further complication of failing health, life often becomes a pitiful struggle.

2. *Continuity essential.*—We come face to face, therefore, with the necessity of continuity if the soul is to be saved. The standing of the last test, of the worst and the fiercest test, is essential. Not upon good beginnings, nor even upon steady continuings, but only upon solid endings can God place the seal of success. What avails it that we turned to God in our youth and held on to Him

through years of severe struggle if now we are going to give way? It is not what we *were*, but what we *are* that makes us safe. Could there be any greater condemnation, any more shameful condition for a soul that has once seen the vision, once felt the fire of God within him, than to qualify for that caustic description of Scripture: 'Ephraim is a cake half-turned'? This is a warning that our age needs peculiarly. We live in such a hurry that we worship swiftness rather than strength. As a writer has said:

The fault of the age is a mad endeavour

To leap to heights that were made to climb,
By a burst of strength, by a trick most clever
We plan to forestall and outstrip time.

Yet to covet the prize and shrink from the winning,
To thirst for glory yet fear to fight,
What can it lead to at last but sinning,
To mental languor and moral blight?

What can God Himself do for the soul that wants only the end, but not the endurance? As Ibsen says, through his great character, Brand, concerning the peasant and his son who would not face the storm with him:

Were it but the power you lack
I would have borne you on my back.
My weary back, my feet that bleed,
Had gladly answered to your need;
But help is useless to a man
Who does not *will*, save where he can.

3. *The way of victory.*—Yet, providing we are willing to endure, however much we doubt our strength, there are considerations of great inspiration that can be brought to our aid. In the first place, the increasing test of life is not wanton, it has its purpose. It is everything to feel that the test is not opposition but opportunity. Readers of Hugh Walpole's great novel *Fortitude* will remember the motto that its hero Peter learned to cherish early in life, 'It is not life that matters, but the courage you bring to it,' and they will recall how at one point in his troubled career the true interpretation of all his tribulation was brought home to his soul. 'You are worth it, you are too valuable to be left in peace,' was the message that came to him.

But a further consideration of overwhelming importance is that the power which can come only by the practice of endurance is the very substance of salvation. 'In your patience,' said Jesus, 'ye shall win your soul.' Here is the very

soul of life's meaning, to receive for one's own possession the character that is divine. As a great poet has so beautifully declared :

Endurance is the crowning quality
And patience all the passion of great hearts :
These are their stay, and when the leaden world
Sets its hard face against their fateful thought,
And brute strength, like a scornful conqueror,
Clangs his huge mace down in the other scale ;
The inspired soul but flings his patience in,
And slowly that outweighs the ponderous globe,
One faith against a whole earth's unbelief,
One soul against ' the flesh of all mankind.' ¹

QUINQUAGESIMA.

The Cup Jesus would not drink.

' They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall : and when he had tasted thereof, he would not drink.'—Mt 27³⁴.

This draught of vinegar mingled with gall, or, as Mark more accurately expresses it, ' wine mingled with myrrh,' must be distinguished from the sponge filled with vinegar and put upon a reed in the last hour in which Jesus hung upon the Cross. This draught was offered to Him as He stood by the Cross before He was nailed to it. The spongy of vinegar was given in response to His cry : ' I thirst.' The draught was a cup of spiced wine. It contained a drug intended to stupefy. It was the rude chloroform of the day. The other was only a sop to cool the burning fever of His tongue.

There was in Jerusalem a society of benevolent women whom gentle pity moved to a gracious ministry to the outcast and the criminal. It was their custom to provide this draught of wine mingled with myrrh that the felon on his cross might have the agony and horror of his crucifixion dulled and his senses deadened, while death was making the slow conquest of his life. The cup filled with this spiced and stupefying wine was set down at the foot of the Cross. It was placed in the hands of Jesus.

Why would not Jesus drink of this cup ? He did not usually disregard any gracious service done to Him. When He sat by the well of Samaria, He eagerly sought and gratefully accepted the water from the woman's hand. When hunger pressed Him, He went in with simple gratitude to meat. In the garden of Gethsemane He earnestly entreated the companionship and the solace of

men. Nay, when He found Himself fainting under the weight of His Cross, He willingly allowed it to be placed on the shoulders of Simon of Cyrene. But now, when He is spent with hours of fasting, when He is face to face with the agony of the Cross, He refuses the cup offered to Him by kindly hands. *Why ?* Because He will not have His senses drugged. He will not have His mind clouded. He will not suffer any unspiritual aid to be given to His resolve. He will be fully master of Himself. He will go through the valley of the shadow of death with every sensibility in keen tension, with every faculty in unclouded clearness, with body, soul, and spirit poured out in the act of dying before God.

1. Mark the *light this incident casts on the purpose of Jesus' death.* The purpose of Christ's death is a subject of vexing contention for Christian thinkers. Its depths remain unfathomed for many devout souls. Its uses and issues are perplexities for many who love His name. The most unthinking reader, however, can see that it occupied the place of supreme importance to Christ. It was the event towards which He looked ; the goal towards which He strained ; the hour for whose coming He waited. As often as the prevision of the Cross came in upon Him, His soul was troubled, and in this closing day of His life, His thoughts and desires turn towards it, as the thought of a lover to his beloved, or the desires of a runner to his goal. His very face shines with the foregleams of mingled suffering and triumph when He sets His face steadfastly to go to Jerusalem for His dying hour.

If it was the burden of Christ's heart before it was accomplished, it was the chant of the disciples after Calvary was past. No other subject so possesses, inspires, exalts these apostolic men. One of the wonderful things about the Epistles is their scanty reference to Christ's life and words. We are eager to dwell on that life of loveliness and grace. But Paul and Peter and James and John have their hearts more set on the risen Christ, and His coming again.

Why has the death of Jesus this place of pre-eminence ? Surely not because it was the final and dramatic seal to a life of righteousness. Surely not because we may thereby be touched and emotionalized into a strenuous morality. Surely not because of its pathos and sorrow, that we might love Him for the dangers He has passed with the love pity deigns to bestow. No ; the death of Christ was His supreme work—the work He desired with anguish to accomplish ; the work for which He took our flesh and veiled His Godhead.

¹ A. D. Belden, *The Religious Difficulties of Youth*,

In that dying act He assumed our sins, He bore our guilt, He suffered our penalty, He offered Himself our sacrifice. As He stands beside the Cross, He is laying Himself down on the altar of God, and He will do His great deed in the full might of a willing, conscious, unclouded sacrifice. He will not lay down His life with a torpid body, half-dead sensibilities, a dulled mind, a clouded spirit. He will do this great deed, as it required to be done, in full self-consciousness, and thereby make a perfect sacrifice.

2. Mark the *light this incident casts on the value of Jesus' dying hour*. Let us conceive that Jesus had yielded to this temptation, that, face to face with the agony of the Cross, He had drained the cup, and so passed under the influence of that rude chloroform into death. Conceive what would have been lost—lost to those men who heard Him pray for His murderers; lost to that centurion, whose soldier's heart was taught how to die; lost to the mother, who looked up into His face, whose submission He would never have seen, whose need He would never have considered; lost to that malefactor, that man of piercing vision and daring faith, whose face was turned to Him, who passed hand in hand with Him into the kingdom of heaven! Ay, think of a wider area of loss. Seven great words—seven words of love would never have been spoken.

The value of Jesus' dying hour is not exhausted when we think of the gracious deeds He did, and the conscious words He spoke as He met the last enemy. All His people come to their dying hour. We shall come to that passage of the soul, when we shall breathe our sigh of relief, and say, 'It is finished,' and pass through the vasty hall of death. Precious in His sight were the deaths of His saints. His horizon was not bounded by the faces of that Jewish mob who watched the end, or by the walls of that city under whose shadow He died. He saw the faces of the men and women who should die in His faith and for His love. He would fain teach them and us how to die—with eyes uplifted to God, with unclouded heart, with a great word of Scripture on which to stay the soul, and a prayer of blessing for men upon the lips. He would do more than that. He would comfort His people by the knowledge that there was no experience He had not passed through, no travail He had not endured.

3. Mark the *lights it casts on the ideal of a Christian life*. For what is Christ doing here? He is doing what He did when He veiled His Godhead, when He went down to the wonderful obedience and

long seclusion of Nazareth, when He refused the easy ways of life, when He chose the path of holy self-denial. He is facing the duty which must be done, He is fitting Himself for doing it in a supremely noble way, and He is doing it, cost what it may to body and to soul. And that is the ideal of a Christian life.

To-day we have ceased to realize the moral grandeur and the spiritual exaltation of such an ideal. We have ceased to realize that it is the ideal of Jesus. All the sterner stress of His life has fallen out of view. His great words about self-denial and cross-bearing are emptied of meaning, and His hard sayings are discounted. We feel that for us to say we 'are crucified with Christ,' would be to practise cant, and the words are not found upon our lips. The Christian life is not a cramped, mean, narrow round. Every faculty should be sanctified and ennobled by Christ. 'The kingdom of God is righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,' the three most desirable and most satisfying things in the world. But Jesus insisted that life should first be safe, and then broad, and no liberty was ever given beyond the narrow way of holy and needful self-denial.

4. There is one last lesson which may direct and strengthen some who are in special need. All of us come to times of crisis in our lives. We are called upon to choose or to reject some proffered gift, to take a step which determines all our future, or to accept some limiting conditions. Some burden is placed upon our shoulders which shall slip from us only at death. Some message is given us which shows only a chilling prospect in days to come, or points to a narrowed and straightened life. How many have missed all that makes life worth living, because they have not known the meaning of their hour, and have not seized its blessing. But a still subtler peril—a temptation yielded to every day—is to take up the cup of wine mingled with myrrh; to escape with some easier, and indulgent fulfilment; to find some ignoble palliative; to drug the soul with some base expedient; to escape from a hard life by a loveless marriage; to accept a duty, and fulfil it with meagre sacrifices; to leave the path of a limiting poverty, under the temptation of an unrighteous reward; to lower the ideal of life because it is difficult in new circumstances—these are ways of drinking the cup of wine mingled with myrrh. As we stand at the foot of our cross, let us accept it meekly, and with a holy disdain for all that would unfit us for it, and we shall find it a source of redemption for others, and the very exaltation of

ourselves. Let us remember how Milton met and accepted his great calamity when smitten with blindness and his life little more than half-spent. Well might he have thought that God had shut him up in prison, and so, in sullen despair sunk into apathy, or, in unworthy rebellion, craved some anodyne for his pain. He nobly writes :

God doth not need
Either man's work or his own gifts. Who best
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best. His
state

Is kingly : thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest ;
They also serve who only stand and wait.¹

FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT.

'As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us.'—Ps 103¹².

This Psalm is one of exceptional exaltation. It combines the ideas of greatness and splendour so as to give a sense of magnificence all through, and it blends with this an exquisite and delicate tenderness. It is natural that such a Psalm should have the question of sin in the heart of it. Until that question has been faced and answered, neither the magnificence nor the tenderness of God can be clear.

Every one who knows himself or who knows life at all has to reckon with the fact of sin. Pride may separate a man from sin, but his mood will change and he will sacrifice pride to indulgence. Time and forgetfulness may seem to leave it on the farther side of a great gulf fixed between it and our present life. But sin can overleap that distance, and in a moment be at our conscience and our heart across a lifetime of intervening years.

But when God enters amid the tumult of fear and hope, of desire and renunciation, all is changed. For the past He brings forgiveness, the mightiest proof of love. For the future, 'God has seen the saint in the sinner,' and what He has seen, the world will yet see. Then comes the supreme moment in a man's experience, the sudden flight of sin beyond the farthest horizon. 'A Greek poet implies,' says Lytton, 'that the height of bliss is the sudden relief from pain ; there is a nobler bliss still, the rapture of the conscience at the sudden release from a guilty thought.'

We are not accustomed to so complete a dealing, and the Bible seems almost to exhaust language in expressing it. We are so accustomed to tinker-

ing with sin, to half-repentances and compromise and recurrence, that few of our moral battles are fought out to a finish and the field cleared from the outposts of the enemy. So the colours are glaring—'crimson and scarlet,' 'white as snow.' God is seen 'coming over the mountains of our transgressions,' and casting them 'into the depths of the sea.' And in this passage East and West stand for a corresponding sense of extreme distance that is meant to tax the imagination. The imaginative power and stretch of the appeal are seen along two lines.

1. Geographically, East and West were the extreme points of known distance. It was in the temperate zone of the northern hemisphere that history began and civilization spread. Accordingly the stretch of ancient geography was wider between East and West than between North and South, and the ancient maps of the world were oblong. As thought travelled westward it saw the dim coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, and perhaps the mountain of Teneriffe in the farthest distance. As it travelled eastward, it passed through the ring of neighbouring nations across the Jordan ; saw the wandering encampments of desert tribes ; then Mesopotamia, with Nineveh and Babylon guarding its rivers ; then the mountains of Persia and the dream-like lands of India and China beyond. At the utmost limits, mountain-pillars upheld the world, or the edge of its oval disc fell sheer into the waters of the nether deep upon which it floated.

One can realize the wonder and relief of such a man as this writer, as his conscience follows his imagination across the whole enormous breadth of the world. There, where the mountains of the dawn or sunset hardly break the skyline with their faint and shadowy ranges—there, over the edges of the flat earth where all things end—there, and no nearer, are his sins.

Geographically, science seems to have changed all that. For a long time travel and exploration increased year by year the distance between East and West, flinging out the horizon line farther in each direction. Yet in doing so, they actually brought them together by their discovery that the earth is round, so that a man fleeing across the world to escape his sin must at last run into its arms. And that is a curious kind of allegory of what our modern thought has done with the sense of sin. Apparently it has removed it. It has drawn away men's attention to other interests, and it has relaxed the ancient tension of conscience. Yet, in very truth, as men escape from sin under the

¹ W. M. Clow, *The Day of the Cross*, 213.

guidance of scientific theory, they rush unawares into the arms of their sins again.

Natural science has revealed the connexion between the physical and the moral natures. Its doctrines of evolution and heredity tend to a view of sin as natural tendency, defective or excessive vitality, a hereditary taint of blood. While, at first sight, these explanations seem to put sin away from conscience, yet they bring it infinitely nearer too. Instead of being a casual or isolated product of mere independent acts of will, they pronounce it native, and part of the necessary system of things. Sin has come home to the very heart and flesh of man, a thousandfold nearer than ever.

What has God to say to all this? Exactly the same old words, 'As far as the east is from the west.' Whatever truth or error may lie in these accounts of the origin of sin, our faith knows only one unchanging fact—the living God. Our conscience has to deal not with theory, but with one great will and love. Against Him, Him only, have we sinned. Here and now, whatever be the story of life behind us, whatever the ultimate scientific definition of sin, we have to meet the eyes of God as Christ reveals Him. By His command, by His forgiveness, by His redemption, He tears sin away from His children and holds it apart from them now as of old. When God has intervened, we repudiate our lower nature, and lay hold on our nobler manhood. Thus, in the Cross of Christ, we see still that great act of God, that is ever repeated when a penitent child turns to his Father. It is the act of justification. Sin has not been slurred over, nor forgotten, nor suffered merely to drift away. 'As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he *removed* our transgressions from us.'

2. East and West are not mere points in the compass; they stand for peopled lands, and even in very ancient times their racial distinctions were recognized. Israel had already touched the outposts of Greece, and had heard of the young power of Rome—not indeed in any close contact, but yet closely enough to perceive the contrast between Europe and Asia, between Aryan and Semite. East and West represent different types of humanity. The East is dreaming, the West running to and fro. The East values a thought for its beauty and its mystery, the West for its practical value. The East fears immortality, and longs for the death of desire, the West rebels against death and seeks for life more abundant. The East lies back in fatalism, the West stands erect in strength of human will.

All this lends a richer significance to the text. We need to be separated from our sins not merely

by distance, but by a change of standard and desire. When God enters, and a man deals with Him regarding sin, racial differences of moral standard and constitutional taste disappear. Jesus Christ, standing on that Syrian soil which has been the historic meeting-ground of East and West, changes the views of both, and creates a higher patriotism strong as the lower and far more true. Then men of all races, learning the will of God and His love, take these for their native country, the homeland of their spirit, and sin becomes alien and foreign to them.

What is this but *sanctification*, in which sin is removed not merely by the forgiving act of God, but by the change of man's desire which is the work of His Spirit? No longer regarded as merely dangerous or foolish or wicked, it comes to be literally hateful—uncongenial and utterly alien to his desires and tastes.¹

SECOND SUNDAY IN LENT.

Jacob and Israel.

'And Jacob dreamed, and behold a ladder.'—Gn 28¹².

'And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day.'—Gn 32²⁴.

There is a story of a Sibyl which we used to read in our Roman History. It tells how that strange prophetess came to one of the early kings of Rome, Tarquinius the Proud, and offered him, at a price, nine precious rolls of parchment. But when the king would not pay the price, she went away. Presently she came back, having destroyed three of them, and offered the remaining six to him for the same price. The king once more refused. But again the Sibyl returned; this time with only three books left. Then the King, amazed at her persistence, bought the three for the same sum as that for which at first he could have had the nine.

Like the books of the Sibyl is the story of Jacob:

There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

Twice that tide flowed for the patriarch, but not with equal force; the first one he missed, and when the second chance was given him, he found, as Tarquin found, that it had far less to offer, and its demand was therefore higher.

¹ J. Kelman, *Ephemera Eternitatis*, 67.

x. There is surely no more mixed character than Jacob's in the Old Testament. The fact that, like St. Paul, he is a man of two names, shows us, as clearly as anything can do, that his life was broken in two in the middle—that there was a definite change, a fresh beginning, a new birth. And the very name by which in his earlier life he was known, Jacob the Cheat, is enough to show what there was in him which would make all honest men dislike him.

But what matters now to us, what makes his life so fascinating as a human document, is that he had in him something quite different from all that. Like so many of us, he was two men even from the first. It was not for nothing that on the very night that he was driven out from home, lying there on the bare and rocky hillside, with a stone for his pillow, he dreamed the dream which has been the delight of childhood and of age ever since. It was not for nothing that there, in his misery and loneliness, he saw the ladder whose top reaches to heaven, and heard God's voice speak to him. It is the first of the two great crises of his life. The whole of the Sibylline books with all their words and their wisdom were offered him there at Bethel. But he would not pay the price. The flow of the tide would have carried him right out on God's ocean; but he missed it. It is so much easier to do great things, to make great resolves to dedicate life to a high purpose, before one is twenty-five than it is afterwards. But, though he knew the ladder was there, though he had seen it mounting step by step up to the throne of God, he would not begin to climb it. His dream remained a dream. He went on his way, saying, 'How dreadful is this place'; he journeyed on alone when he might have had all those angels for his companions. Nay, he even tried to make a bargain with God: if He will be with me and give me food and raiment and bring me again in peace, then this God shall be my God. That was the first crisis.

2. Now fourteen years have gone past and Jacob is on the way home again; he was poor then, he is rich now. He had gone out alone to the ravine, where far below the river Jabbok wrestles its way downward, as its name means, among the rocks. And now, as he stands there, having done all he could for safety, the whole of his life passes before him; just as, when a man troubled with insomnia lies awake in bed, he sees his character stripped bare and naked. The house of lies he has built at the cost of his soul is tumbling about his head like a house of cards. Not his wealth

only, not his own life only, but the life of those who are dearer to him than himself, is in danger. Perhaps that is his salvation; perhaps that one unselfish thought was the door through which God came to him. However it was, there as he stood alone in the darkness, he was conscious of a power wrestling with him, a power so real, so intense, that it was just as if a man whom he could not see had met him and grappled with him, face to face, and heart to heart; and gathering all his strength, Jacob rose and wrestled, wrestled on, even when he was spent and weary; wrestled on, till the new name was given him, and he had won the blessing which now he longed for more than he longed for all beside.¹

The anthropomorphism of this story is astonishingly frank and vivid; but it is clear that the Genesis writer intends us to see in it an allegory of inward strife. He is spiritualizing an older and cruder form of the story, which still determines the shape of it; but the soul of it is a new thing in his hands. And later ages have inevitably taken this weird and sombre tale as an allegory of the soul's struggle in prayer. Charles Wesley has so fixed it once and for all in his noble hymn, 'Come, O Thou traveller unknown.' And Francis Thompson, in his essay entitled *Sanctity and Song*, links up the Old Testament story with one of the Canticles attributed to St. Francis of Assisi, which figures the soul's prayer as a warfare with Christ, in which the soul falls to the ground pierced by Christ's lance, only to be raised again by Him:

So keen fresh that I
That moment could have scorned
To join the saints on high.

And thus revived, the soul returns to the conflict; and, at last, 'I conquered Christ my Lord.'

Al! for so love teaches us, through its disciplines of pain and piercing, to win that hardihood of utter self-abandonment which makes God yield Himself to our importunity.²

Let us end with two thoughts. We must not let any dream go which God has given us. Those dreams of youth which come to us as we read of some noble life, as we go out to start upon our profession; dreams of marriage and heroism, of pity, of service and generous self-sacrifice, of love and devotion, are all meant to be translated into the prose of common life. He who sees the vision and goes on his way is a worse man than he who

¹ G. H. Aitken, *Fellow-Workers with God*, 180.

² L. Johnson, *The Legends of Israel*, 98.

never has seen it at all. Every vision is not only a call to action but a promise that, as we strive, we shall attain ; as we seek, we shall find.

But though we have no right to put away the conversion of to-day, because we think that to-morrow will do, yet Jacob stands here to bid us never lose hope for any man. It is false to say that no one is ever really changed after he is thirty. Right on into old age God is seeking for the souls He loves, the souls which Christ died to win for Himself. Here it is God with whom man's fight must be fought, not Apollyon, or sin, or temptation, or his evil self. For it is the final truth of

life that God is always following us ; the love of Christ is always waiting to comfort us, through some great call or some great sorrow, through the failure which wrecks our self-confidence, through sickness and the shadow of death, God may come face to face with any one of us. And when He comes, the whole question will be : Do we care enough ? Have we the will, in spite of all the careless years that have gone before, have we the will to rise and wrestle ? For, if we do that, we shall prevail ; and, when the morning comes, on our forehead too, however faintly, the new name will be written.

The Revised Edition of Sir George Adam Smith's Exposition of the Book of Isaiah.¹

By PROFESSOR JOHN E. McFADYEN, D.D., UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, GLASGOW.

It is hardly too much to say that the publication of Sir George Adam Smith's *Isaiah* thirty-nine years ago marked the dawn of a new epoch in the exposition of prophecy. The fuel was already there, gathered by the patient toil of many a scholar, but it had not been kindled into light and heat. That is what those volumes did. Here was a writer who combined broad and delicate scholarship with an exquisite literary gift and who, besides, already stood in the front rank of British preachers. The volumes broke upon the English-speaking theological world with all the force of a revelation, and the preachers of that day felt like Keats' 'watcher of the skies, when a new planet swims into his ken.' The prophets, major and minor alike, had been to most preachers practically a *terra incognita* ; those volumes revealed the breadth and beauty and fertility of this unknown land. Praises were showered upon them by scholars and literary men, praises which have been gratefully endorsed by four decades of preachers on both sides of the Atlantic, who were not slow to recognize in them a supreme expository achievement.

It were superfluous to repeat the praises lavished upon those volumes on their first appearance ; suffice it to recall the tribute paid them by Mr. H. Jeffs in his *Art of Exposition* (James Clarke & Co.), after they had been in circulation for more than twenty years. 'The glory,' he says (p. 80), 'of

¹ Two volumes (Hodder & Stoughton ; 10s. 6d. net).

The Expositor's Bible series is Dr. George Adam Smith's two volumes on Isaiah and his two volumes on The Book of the Twelve Prophets. These approach as near to perfection in their combination of the fullest and finest scholarship, the vividly dramatic style, the penetrating psychology, the illuminating analogies between the social and spiritual conditions of the prophetic times and our own, and the intensely practical application to present-day problems, as we can reasonably hope anything to come. Dr. Smith has been the making of many a preacher, and dullard indeed would the man be who was not a better preacher, and a keener and more intelligent reader of the prophets, after he had revelled in Dr. Smith's books. Dr. Smith has wonderful intuition of the Oriental mind. The expository preacher who, while maintaining his own independence of thought and style, lives much with Dr. Smith, will be living with a supreme master of the craft, and cannot fail to catch something of the master's zest for the Bible, and through that zest he will be brought spirit to spirit with the great souls to whom the inspiration came which gave to us the Bible literature.'

When it became known that Principal Sir George Adam Smith was engaged in the revision of his work on prophecy, expectation and curiosity were immediately aroused as to the form which the revision would take. It was felt that the homiletic treatment, resting as it did upon

accurate and sympathetic exegesis, enriched with illustrations from the broad field of history, and clothed in perfect English, could not be bettered; there was about it a certain finality which was not likely to be seriously, if at all, modified, by the progress of critical or historical studies in the field of prophecy. And this is what we find. The more distinctively homiletic parts have been allowed to stand practically intact, and so those eloquent pages, charged with spiritual insight, which moved and inspired the preachers of nearly forty years ago, are again set free to continue their good work of moving and inspiring the preachers of our own and later days. As a specimen of spiritual exposition and literary craftsmanship, what would be nobler than the words in which Dr. Smith comments on the climax expressed in the couplet at the close of ch. 40, the force of which 'Duhm and others have blindly missed' and foolishly eliminated as an anti-climax? For the sake of younger preachers—if any such there be—who do not know those volumes, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting the passage in full:

'And so it must ever be. First the ideal, and the rush at it with passionate eyes, and then the daily trudge onward, when its splendour has faded from the view, but is all the more closely wrapped round the heart. For glorious as it is to rise to some great consummation on wings of dream and song, glorious as it is, also, to bend that impetus a little lower and take some practical crisis of life by storm, an even greater proof of our religion and of the help our God can give us is the lifelong tramp of earth's common surface, without fresh wings of dream, or the excitement of rivalry, or the attraction of reward, but with the head cool, and the face forward, and every footfall upon firm ground. Let hope rejoice in a promise, which does not go off into the air, but leaves us upon solid earth; and let us hold to a religion, which, while it exults in being the secret of enthusiasm and the inspiration of heroism, is daring and Divine enough to find its climax in the commonplace.' For sheer beauty, for the blend of music and imagination—to say nothing of its spiritual quality—there surely cannot be many things in the English language finer than that.

It is not therefore, speaking generally, in the homiletic treatment of the prophet that the 'alterations and omissions' to which the Principal alludes in his new Preface are to be found, but rather in his discussion of the textual and literary criticism of the book and of its historical background. If it be asked what these have to do with the preacher and with homiletics, he would answer,

'Much every way.' For more than most men he has taught us that the best homiletic rests on the soundest exegesis, and sound exegesis demands from the expositor, apart from the indispensable endowment of spiritual sympathy, as accurate a knowledge as is possible of the psychological and historical situation out of which the prophet speaks and of the text in which he expresses himself; for you have no right to discuss what a writer meant until you have taken the necessary trouble to discover as precisely as possible what he said. If the modifications in the purely homiletical treatment are so few, it is because the exegetical foundations were so well and truly laid in the first edition. But it is characteristic of the patient integrity of Sir George Adam Smith's mind that he has re-examined those foundations in the light of the multitudinous labours of the historians and critics of the last forty years. In his own words: 'The textual and historical criticism of the Old Testament has wonderfully developed, our knowledge of the histories of Israel, Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt has been greatly increased, and in particular many fresh works have appeared on the Book of Isaiah itself. . . . In preparing this New and Revised Edition I have made careful use of all these.'

A careful comparison of the two editions shows that this is, as it claims to be, a real revision. Every syllable of the first edition has been scrupulously weighed, and the tiny and often almost imperceptible changes in style, which reveal the unabated fastidiousness of the literary artist, disclose almost more than the longer additions the conscientious thoroughness with which the revision has been carried through. In general the revision, so far as it affects the literary form, is in the direction of restraint; frequently, *e.g.* in paragraphs which began with *Now*, the *Now* is dropped (cf. ii. 185, 338, etc.). 'This great change' (from idolatry to monotheism) becomes simply 'this change' (ii. 38), and 'the great contrast' (between the idols and the living God) becomes simply 'the contrast.' To dissociate the solemn announcement of the birth of a Child from the current expectation of the coming of a glorious Prince seemed to Dr. Smith in the first edition 'quite impossible,' in the second 'next to impossible.' 'The idea that what Isaiah describes' in ch. 6 'is the temple in Jerusalem' (i. 61), is the 'mistaken' idea in the first edition. In the first edition we read, 'Isaiah's authorship of these prophecies'—*i.e.* chs. 13 f., 24-27, 34 f.—'is usually defended by appealing . . .'; the revision reads, 'has sometimes been defended' (i. 421). To the sentence in the first edition, 'For

all its mingling and recurrent style, the prophecy' (*i.e.* chs. 40-55) 'is a unity with a distinct, if somewhat involved, progress of thought,' is added the cautious footnote, 'That is, as it now lies before us, however true or baseless the different theories of various sources for it may be' (ii. 136). In the first edition, 'there were two branches of the Persian royal family'; in the revision, 'there appear to have been' (ii. 114). In the first edition, 'we have scarcely any contemporary evidence' about the personality of Cyrus; in the revision, 'we have little' (ii. 174). In the first edition, we read, 'As in the rest of Hebrew poetry, so here' (in ch. 53) 'the measure is neither regular nor smooth'; in the revision, 'As in much of Hebrew poetry' (ii. 354). In the first edition, 'Nor is there any reason against attributing' the intercessory prayer of 63⁷-64 to the same author as chs. 40-55; in the revision, 'Nor is there final reason' (ii. 488). To the assurance of 14³² that Zion at least is secure for the people of Yahweh is added a caveat in brackets—'This then was the Interim-Answer (we think from Isaiah himself)' (i. 290); and again it is hinted that the proverb in 28²⁰ may not originally belong to its present context (i. 162).

On the field of historical and literary criticism this caution frequently reveals itself in the sphere of chronology. The date of 10⁵⁻³⁴ is given in the first edition as 721 B.C.; in the revision, as 'after 721 and probably after 717 B.C.' (i. 145, 151). To the date 709 for the oracle 21¹⁻¹⁰ he still adheres, but in a footnote he recognizes and states the difficulties which have led recent critics to assign it to a later date (i. 282). The second captivity, of 589, becomes 587-586 (ii. 59). Of the section 56¹⁻⁸, commonly supposed to begin the post-exilic Trito-Isaiah, he writes, 'I am not so sure as I was in 1890 that it belongs to the eve of the Return,' and he adds reasons for the later date which is 'not certain, but possible' (ii. 432). The upper limit of Deutero-Isaiah is perhaps 546 or 545 rather than 549 B.C. (ii. 12).

The steadiness with which Principal Smith, out of a wider knowledge and maturer judgment, still adheres to conclusions reached nearly forty years ago is remarkable evidence of the thoroughness with which his original work was done. While taking full account of all the relevant intervening literature, there is no question of vital importance on which he has had occasion to abandon his earlier conclusions. The words, 'Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow,' etc. (1¹⁸), he declines to regard with Wellhausen as interrogative, or with Duhm as ironical, though he admits

that the question is difficult and the answer uncertain (i. 13). To the much disputed question of the authorship of the Messianic passages 9²⁻⁷ and 11¹⁻⁵ he devotes three and a half pages, as 'it is right that, though I have not changed my belief, I should give some account of such criticism' (i. 142), but 'upon a careful survey of all the arguments, I see no reason now, any more than thirty-eight years ago, to doubt that the Messianic passages are Isaiah's' (i. 144). Similarly he retains 2²⁻⁴ for Isaiah, though 'quite possibly it is quoted from an earlier poet' (i. 12). Again 28^{5f.} are denied to Isaiah 'on, it seems to me, insufficient grounds' (i. 155). Moreover, he is inclined to re-assert against much recent criticism, the Isaianic authorship and the probable unity of 10⁵⁻³⁴ (i. 171), and the Isaianic authorship of 32⁹⁻²⁰ (i. 268), though v.¹⁹ is admitted to be 'probably an interpolation' (i. 275). In an additional page of introduction to ch. 65 he still inclines to a date for it during the Exile (ii. 497 f.). Of 66^{1f.}—verses which some scholars limit to a condemnation of a rival Temple—he writes: 'The verses surely imply that *no* house is indispensable to God or His true worshippers. . . . I still think this the natural interpretation of the verses.' On the difficult questions of the identity of the Servant in the four Servant Songs, and of the speakers in the fourth Song (ch. 53, at any rate as far as v.⁶), the discussions of the intervening years have not led him to modify his earlier judgment. The speakers he still thinks to be on the whole Israel rather than the heathen (ii. 364), while his view of the Servant of the Lord is summarily expressed in the following words: 'Our prophet identifies him at first with the whole nation, and then with some indefinite portion of the nation—indefinite in quantity, but most marked in character: this personification grows more and more difficult to distinguish from a person; and in ch. 52¹³⁻⁵³ there are very strong reasons, both in the text itself and in the analogy of other prophecy, to suppose that the portrait of an individual is intended' (ii. 292).

But though the broad conclusions of the older edition stand, there are numerous minor modifications. The older edition had stated that the king cursed by Tiglath-pileser as an arch-enemy was Uzziah of Judah; now a footnote tells us that 'there are strong grounds for believing that he was not Uzziah (Azariah) of Judah, but Azrija'u of Ja'udi, a state much nearer Assyria' (i. 96). Another footnote reckons with the possibility that in the Immanuel prophecy of ch. 7 the curds and honey (v.¹⁵) may be a symbol not of privation but

of abundance, and that vv.^{15f.} may therefore be not a threat but a promise (i. 115). The statement in the old edition (ii. 383) that the question whether the land of Sinim is the land of China 'is still an open one' is now dropped (ii. 399). The possibility is conceded of the author of ch. 33 being another than Isaiah himself (i. 317). There is now a slightly greater readiness to admit the possibility of interpolation: e.g. 17^{7f.} appear to be interpolations (i. 280), 18⁷ 'is now generally regarded as a later addition' (i. 281); again, 'surely grass is the people' (40⁷) is bracketed as a gloss (ii. 83), and it is admitted that the genuineness of 39^{8f.}, the only prediction of Israel's exile to Babylonia which is attributed to Isaiah, 'has been generally and very reasonably denied.' Perhaps the most important modification is in Sir George Adam Smith's view of ch. 48, which he no longer regards as a literary unit. The criticism of the last forty years has convinced him that, besides authentic lines in the chapter, there are others which are 'not consonant with Deutero-Isaiah's argument, style, or rhythm, but seem to be pious efforts to interline his teaching, in the circumstance and to the men of his own time, with exhortation and rebuke to Jews of a later period and a different character' (ii. 221).

The translation is modified in ways that are always interesting and often important. Sometimes the change is slight, as in 5¹⁶, where *justice* is substituted for *righteousness* (i. 9), or *impious* and *profane* for *hypocrite* in 9¹⁷ (i. 51, 78), or *disregarded* (the ordinance) for *changed* in 24⁵ (i. 441), or *gotten for received* in 40² (ii. 79), or *Abraham My friend for who loved me* in 41⁸ (ii. 131), or *summoner of the generations from the fountainhead for from aforehand* in 41⁴ (ii. 127). Once or twice there is a reversion to the familiar English translation, as in 42¹, which formerly read :

Lo, My Servant! I hold by him;
My Chosen! Well-pleased is My soul! (ii. 291),

and which now reads :

Behold My Servant, whom I uphold,
My Chosen in whom My Soul delighteth (ii. 307).

The old reference to Cyrus in 41², 'Who hath stirred up from the sunrise Righteousness, calleth it to his foot?' (ii. 117), gives place to the much superior :

Who was it stirred up from the sunrise
Him on whose footsteps victory waits? (ii. 120).

The difficult and obscure עֹוֹת in 50⁴ is more cau-

tiously dealt with. 'To know how to succour the weary with words' (ii. 327) becomes :

To know how to answer (?) the weary
With a word that is . . . (?)—

to which translation is appended a valuable footnote. Some of the improvements rest on a careful exploitation of the LXX; e.g. 'Food shall they find on *every* (πάσαις) road,' 49^{9b} (ii. 399). So 'Who hath directed the *spirit* of Jehovah?' 40¹³ (ii. 94), becomes 'Who hath determined the *mind* of Yahweh?' (ii. 95)—a translation suggested by the Greek rendering of רוּחַ as νοῦς. And the beautiful passage, 'In all their affliction *he was afflicted*' (63^{8f.}), is corrected to :

(And so He became their Saviour)
From all their affliction.

No messenger was it (or angel,
But His presence that saved them) (ii. 490).

Two features distinguish the translation of the revised edition from that of the original: (i) there is considerably more of it, and (ii) the metrical quality of the verse is made more conspicuous to the eye and to the ear. (i) Sir George Adam Smith has acceded to the desire expressed by former reviewers for a complete translation of chs. 40–66. It greatly facilitates the reader's appreciation of the comment to have under his eye, in metrical form, the poem that is being commented upon. (ii) In the revised edition much that formerly appeared as prose (cf. 2²⁻⁵, and part of 51¹⁻⁷) is now printed as verse—a feature which has the effect of giving the reader a juster appreciation of the essentially poetic quality of prophecy in all the stages represented by the Book of Isaiah. The Principal's profound interest in the problems of Hebrew metre, already attested by his Schweich Lectures, and not less markedly in his 'Jeremiah,' is here reflected in many a page. To a footnote in p. 94 of vol. ii. repeated from the first edition, he adds an explanatory sentence on the metrical structure of 40¹²⁻³¹. The nature of the elegiac metre is now made plain by breaking up the long line of the older edition into two. Thus :

Comfort ye, comfort ye My people, saith your God,
Speak ye home to the heart of Jerusalem, and call
unto her, 40¹⁴ (ii. 75).

becomes :

Comfort ye, comfort ye My people,
Sayeth your God.
Speak home to the heart of Jerusalem
And call to her (ii. 76).

The elegiac structure of 40⁹⁻¹¹ is now more distinctly

recognized. In the first edition the translation of vii. ran :

As a shepherd His flock He shepherds ;
With His right arm gathers the lambs,
And in His bosom bears them,
Ewe-mothers He tenderly leads (ii. 84).

Now we read :

Like a shepherd His flock He tends,
With His arm He gathers,
The lambs in His bosom He bears,
And those that suckle He gently leads (ii. 85).

There are in these volumes protests not a few, for which his 'Jeremiah' had prepared us, against the illusion that the metre of Hebrew poetry is uniformly regular ; he does not 'suppose that the Hebrews were so anxious for a mechanical regularity as their modern editors are' (ii. 80), and so it is with hesitation that he transposes the familiar order of the sentences in 40⁴ to :

Every mountain and hill be brought low,
Every valley be lifted.

To readers interested in Hebrew one of the valuable features of the revision is the incidental textual comment which accompanies the translation, especially in the volume dealing with chs. 40-66. This feature, which already marked the first edition, has been greatly extended in the revision and is particularly conspicuous in the treatment of ch. 44 and the very difficult ch. 53. Such scrupulous attention to the text is a perpetual reminder of the stern linguistic discipline to which every honest exegete must be prepared to submit himself.

The revision is characterized by omissions as well as additions. The thing that no longer needs to be said is not said. Five sentences, e.g. in vol. i. p. 431, which argue that a book bearing Isaiah's name is not necessarily all from the prophet himself, are dropped (ii. 452). But naturally interest will largely centre in the additions, many of which are quite extensive. E.g. the introduction to the sections dealing with chs. 25-27 and with the story of Hezekiah's sickness and recovery in ch. 38 have been re-written. So also has the introduction to the story of Sennacherib's campaign(s) against Judah been re-written in the light of the discussion devoted to that difficult question in Dr. Smith's 'Jerusalem'; and his conclusion is that there seems to be 'sufficient material to justify the hypothesis that the two accounts' in chs. 36 f. 'are treating not of the same attempt on Jerusalem, but of two successive attempts by Sennacherib'

(ii. 315). An additional paragraph (ii. 17) suggests reasons for the anonymity of Deutero-Isaiah, and an additional page is devoted to the discussion of the unity of chs. 40-55 and the separableness of the Servant poems (ii. 18). The translation of and comment upon ch. 43 expands one page of the original edition to eight. The exposition of ch. 48, which is no longer regarded as a unity, has been largely re-written. Many minor additions show how closely the intervening literature has been surveyed. A footnote in i. 203 deals with Winckler's identification of Miṣraim and Kush with two North Arabian provinces, and two additional sentences on ii. 110 summarize that scholar's views on the origin of the Medes. To the valuable note on *mishpat* (42¹) in the first edition is added, 'But like the Arabic *din*, religion is perhaps the best equivalent' (ii. 315).

The new edition reckons at certain points with criticisms passed upon the earlier one—e.g. with R. H. Hutton's comments on Dr. Smith's comparison of Isaiah to Mazzini (i. 85) and Cromwell (i. 165). A few minor corrections reveal the extreme care with which the revision has been executed : e.g. a footnote on ii. 79 corrects and expands an original 'Lev. xxvii.' to 'Lev. xxvi. 41, 43,' and an original 'vii.' (footnote on ii. 183) has been corrected to '11' (ii. 200). Rénan (i. 350 f.) is corrected to Renan (i. 364 ff.), and *ānī* (i. 433) to 'anī (i. 454). In γένους (ii. 308) a breathing has inadvertently slipped in ; in ἐπ' αὐτῷ (ii. 357) one has been dropped and another misplaced (ἐπ' αὐτῷ) ; while in footnote ¹ to ii. 155 'to' has slipped out after 'access.'

The former system of transliteration has been slightly modified, P being represented by *q*, and *š* by *s*, so that we have now Rabshakeh, Šion and Šedheq (instead of Seedheg)—also Yahweh for Jehovah of the first edition.

Principal Smith has resisted the temptation to illustrate the book extensively by experiences of the Great War, but the few allusions to it are significant. Commenting on 61¹, he adds to the instances of the vital and paramount influence in a nation's history of a piece of news, these two : 'the announcement in August 1914, that the British Government had decided to support, by force of arms, its pledge to defend the inviolableness of Belgium,' and 'the news, in 1917, that the United States, after long patience with the Germans, had, in their deliberation, decided that our decision was right, and resolved to join us' (ii. 476). On 40⁵ he comments thus : 'The glory of the Lord was revealed, and all flesh saw it together. One might say the same of the

unanimity with which Great Britain, on the strength of moral convictions, rose to the venture of war in 1914, and was ultimately vindicated' (ii. 82).

Any one who has ever attempted to revise his own or another man's work soon discovers how exacting and vexatious a task it is—more difficult in some ways than to re-write it *de novo*. An incidental but illuminating proof of the toil that lies behind work like this is the tiny change from *once* (ii. 43) to *often* in the sentence, 'Having read through the Book of Jeremiah often again since I wrote the above paragraph, I am more than ever impressed with the influence of his life upon Isa. 40-66' (ii. 44). But in bringing the literary and historical criticism of the book abreast of contemporary scholarship, Dr. Smith has recalled the expository preachers of to-day to the same high conception of Biblical science as he set before the preachers of forty years ago.

This is indeed a dangerous book, as all Dr. Smith's

expositions of prophecy are. The thing is here so ideally well done that the preacher who puts himself under the spell of it, only too conscious that nothing that he is ever likely to do will be remotely comparable to it, is tempted either boldly to reproduce it, or to despair of touching it himself to any similar purpose at all. But if used wisely and not slavishly, it may be to him a perpetual source of guidance and inspiration. We part from this revision with a deepened sense of the complexity of Biblical science, of the wide and varied range of knowledge of which one who aspires to be a true expositor must make himself master, and of the importance of imagination as well as of knowledge and scholarship in the task of exposition. If it be not an impertinence to congratulate one whose praise has for forty years been in all the churches, we extend our congratulations to Sir George Adam Smith on achieving a revision as complete and thorough as the original was admirable.

The Muhammadan Agrapha.

BY THE REVEREND R. DUNKERLEY, B.A., B.D., PH.D., CAMBRIDGE.

III.

WE now come to the fullest and most important study of this subject that has yet been made—that of Michaël Asin y Palacios, entitled *Logia et Agrapha Domini Jesu apud Moslemicos Scriptores, asceticos præsertim, usitata*. Asin is the Professor of Arabic at Madrid University, and the writer of several other valuable books. This work appeared in two parts, the first in 1916, the second during last year.¹ Part I. consisted of a collection of one hundred and three passages from the aforementioned book by Al Ghazzali, in Arabic, with variant readings from parallel passages in other authors, and Latin introduction, translation, and notes. Part II. contains one hundred and twenty-two passages in Arabic and Latin, culled from other writers than Al Ghazzali, and similarly annotated, with eight other passages, of which the Arabic is not given. This makes a grand total of two hundred and thirty-three passages—by far the largest collection of such excerpts made up till now. Whether the store is exhausted remains to

be seen. It may be added that Asin gives three valuable indices at the end of his lengthy work.

The greater part of the material in Part I. was already familiar to us through Margoliouth's collection, practically all the sayings of which find a place here, though Asin gleaned them quite independently and had not read Margoliouth when he wrote. The residue does not consist entirely of agrapha—though there are several which Margoliouth missed—for Asin includes a number of apocryphal tales of the fantastic sort, and quite a group of sayings and stories connected with John the Baptist, Zachariah, and Mary—which do not really belong here at all. In Part II. we have almost entirely new matter, but here, too, the passages do not all contain sayings ascribed to Jesus, some being referred to these other characters; there is, also, as before, an element of legend, Christ raising a man, for example, who appears wearing red-hot shoes as a punishment for unbrotherly conduct.

A number of passages in both parts are evidently loose quotations from the Gospels; others show

¹ *Patrologia Orientalis*, xiii. 3; xix. 4.

more or less clear evidence of being paraphrases or meditations based upon them. But a considerable number remain which seem to be quite independent, and the question we have to consider is whether it is conceivable that they preserve any authentic words of Jesus at all or whether they are entirely fiction. The fertility of invention amongst early Muhammadan writers was extraordinary, and their writings contain innumerable traditions regarding their Prophet, a small percentage only of which can be deemed genuine.¹ It is not surprising, then, that they allowed their imaginations to play around the figure of Jesus also, and without any doubt this is sufficient explanation of most of the *agrapha* we are considering. The point to be resolved is whether there is any reason to suppose that a little good grain may somehow have survived amongst the mass of weeds.

In his notes, Asin quotes anything mentioned by Al Ghazzali or the allied writers regarding the sources of the sayings or the history of their transmission, and adds any thoughts of his own about their connexion or lack of connexion with the Gospels. Some of his points are of considerable interest and value, but he never gives a very pronounced opinion upon the question of authenticity. Care must be taken not to read into such a statement of his as, '*Agraphum mihi videtur esse*,' more than he intends. Regarding this, he has written privately to me thus, '*J'ai employé le mot Agrapha au sens non strict, soit, pour les verba de NS Jésus-Christ qui n'étant pas dans les Évangiles peuvent être supposés comme transmis depuis les premiers siècles chrétiens par tradition orale ou non écrite des fidèles ou des hérétiques, qui les auraient ainsi communiqué aux musulmans. C'est donc une tradition chrétienne de paroles attribuées à Jésus, dont l'authenticité est très discutable*.' His idea is that those passages only are properly called *agrapha* which may, with reasonable probability, be deemed pre-Islamic, whether or not they can be thought genuine; others, which are included in the collection because ascribed to Jesus, he considers presumably paraphrases of the Gospel or products of the imaginative activity of early Muhammadan writers.

The introduction is of special value, I consider, because, though slight, it does discuss the origin of these sayings without the apologetic bias discernible in Zwemer and other writers. Asin stresses the absence as a rule of dogmatic purpose in the passages, and the fact that the evident motive behind the use of them was the desire to

give the authority of Jesus to certain moral and ascetic teachings. He thinks that in view of the known influx of Arabian Christians (Nestorians and others) into Islam, the presence of some traditional elements cannot be deemed impossible.² He makes much of the argument that in the arid soil of Islam there was produced the tree of monasticism, and that no other explanation is possible than that it grew from a Christian seed. While disclaiming any attempt to assign each of these *agrapha* to its correct source or to assess finally their value, he is clearly of opinion that authentic matter is involved and that they are of greater worth than has commonly been supposed.

It must probably be agreed that he speaks too confidently in the following passage: 'Without doubt the *Logia* ascribed to Jesus by Muslim writers are connected with a settled Christian tradition among the Oriental churches, orthodox or heterodox, before the seventh century A.D. Now I do not say that this tradition is entirely free from error: indeed, it has been corrupted by the traditionists; yet not intentionally, but rather from the accidents inseparable from all oral tradition. The simple choice of words, the ingenuous character of the narrative, full as it is of anachronisms, both as to time and place, point to the vehicle of transmission being not written but oral tradition handed on in the first place by the common people before it was recorded by theologians.'³ But if this is an extreme view, the truth probably lies somewhere between it and the opposite extreme of denying *in toto* the connexion of this material with primitive tradition.

He refers to Zwemer and others to show how this material has been largely ignored hitherto; but he was himself unaware of Margoliouth's work when he wrote this introduction. He mentions several writers as quoting a few Muhammadan *agrapha* incidentally. Of these, D'Herbelot's view was that all these Muhammadan passages had their basis in the Gospels but that they were manipulated to suit the writers' purposes;⁴ Asin quotes this statement to argue against it. The

² An interesting chapter on Christianity in Early Islam will be found in R. Bell's recent work, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (1926); he demonstrates the considerable extent of 'popular importation' into Islam through converts from Christianity, but principally in the ascription of sayings of Jesus to Muhammad. No actual *agrapha* are included in this study.

³ The translation is Guillaume's, *op. cit.* p. 147.

⁴ *Bibliothèque Orientale* (1781), p. 294.

¹ See Guillaume's *The Traditions of Islam*, p. 28 f.

relevant chapter in Goldziher's work¹ has been published in English (1902) under the title *Hadith and the New Testament*; his position is similar to that of D'Herbelot.

Two references to Asin may be briefly dealt with here. Rendel Harris reviewed his work in the *Expositor* (August 1918), speaking highly of it, and though he warns his readers not to expect here an increase of historical matter relating to Jesus, he calls attention to several sayings that he thinks do preserve sound tradition. A more important reference to Asin is that of Guillaume, who published in 1924 the most scholarly study in English of the Hadith literature, entitled *The Traditions of Islam*,² referred to above in two footnotes. In the course of this, while showing conclusively the extravagance that was responsible for much of the amazing growth of tradition in Islam, he refers appreciatively to Asin and quotes part of his introduction (as we have seen) as well as several of the sayings. Though not saying so explicitly, his view apparently is that as in the case of the Hadith that refer to Muhammad himself, so in these relating to Jesus the fact that much is evidently false must not be taken to mean that the whole body of material is necessarily destitute of historical foundation.

Brief reference may be made here to two recent books on the agrapha which, unlike many earlier studies, do take notice of these Muhammadan sayings, though without any critical judgment. In 1923, Besson, in his *Les Logia Agrapha*, included an appendix on this question; his view is shown by the fact that he quotes D'Herbelot's statement referred to above without mentioning Asin's argument to the contrary. He cites thirteen passages from the Quran, forty-four from Asin's collection, and seven others from Ropes; he falls into the usual error of ignoring the last two instalments of Margoliouth's list. The other book is Jenkinson's *The Unwritten Sayings of Jesus* (1925); he devotes an undue part of his space to this subject, giving one of his six chapters to the 'Gospel of Barnabas,' from which he quotes six parables, and another chapter to 'Jesus in Islam.' In the course of this he cites several extracts from the Quran and about a score of the agrapha, without, however, mentioning any of the literature of the subject or giving any references. At the end, he makes one distinctly unfortunate mistake; the last

passage quoted is a beautiful little story of the childhood of Jesus from Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Old Creeds and New Needs* (p. 120), but the context there makes it clear that it is a little bit of pure fiction with no other authority behind it than her own imagination. By quoting it where he does, Jenkinson gives the impression that it has been culled from some Muhammadan writer, and he further suggests this by writing 'Isa, son of Mary'—a usual mode of expression—in place of Mrs. Davids' 'Jesus' and 'Yesu' (she quaintly uses both forms). The passage should have been entirely excluded from a work dealing with ancient material—the flotsam and jetsam of early Christianity.

IV.

Without suggesting that it is possible to pick out many gems from amongst this mass of rubble, which is undoubtedly a sufficient description of these Muhammadan agrapha in the bulk, there are one or two points that I consider require brief mention in support of Asin's view that some genuine fragments may have survived even here.

(1) Has the significance of the fact been adequately recognized in this connexion that the canonical tradition of the growth of the Church deals only with its westward movement and that in the nature of things there must have been a considerable movement eastward too? That Rome was in those days the strategic centre of the world is more evident to us than it can have been to the Early Church—even Paul's statesmanship only gradually came to realize its importance (Ac 16⁷ 19²¹), while the fullest recognition of the necessity for its evangelization could not possibly absolve those from going east and south who believed they had received a commission to make disciples of 'all nations.' It seems probable that there is an underlying stratum of truth in the legends that make Thomas the apostle of Parthia,³ and of Bartholomew preaching in Cilicia Tracheia.⁴ But an appreciation of the probability that a wider work was undertaken by those who had heard Jesus than that narrated in the N.T. surely carries with it the thought that in some out-of-the-way corners of Arabia or Mesopotamia jottings of otherwise unrecorded words of Jesus may for long have been cherished. It is worth noticing that Bigg⁵ came to the conclusion that the 'Clementine

¹ *Muhammedanische Studien* (1889).

² I have followed Guillaume in adopting the spelling 'Muhammad' (and parallel forms), except where quoting the words of other writers.

³ *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. x. No. 1.

⁴ *Expositor*, October 1902.

⁵ *Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 192.

Homilies²—in which several agrapha are found—originated in one 'of those Jewish communities which refused to cast in their lot with the Catholic Church. They maintained themselves in some sort of vitality down to Muhammadan times, and traces of their influence can be discovered in Islam.' He says that a Muhammadan writer of the tenth century gives a glimpse of such a remote little company 'dwelling in the fens between the Arabian desert, the Euphrates, and the Tigris.'

(2) Then, when we scrutinize these passages, surely respect should be paid to any where the ascription to Jesus is definite, unchallenged, and of early date; especially should we notice cases where there are several witnesses for a saying and other signs of sound tradition lying in the background. Take, for example, the following:

'God revealed to Jesus: When I come to the heart of one of my servants and find therein nothing of love either for this world or for the future life, then with love of me will I fill him and hold him in my care as a friend' (A 90; M 69).¹

Asin quotes several other writers than Al Ghazzali as agreeing on the authority from whom this passage comes, in one case a link being affirmed with Damascus—which is obviously one of the most likely places from which agrapha might come. Remembering that the Gospels contain examples of what may be termed the 'spiritual autobiography' of Jesus (the temptation story, for instance), this seems just the kind of thing we can suppose He would tell His disciples on one of those holy occasions when He spoke to them of His inner life. Another example is the story (which need not be quoted at length) of a happy invalid whose praise to God under much affliction is followed by healing (A 88; M 67). Asin quotes a statement that the authority for this story was a certain convert from Judaism to Islam who lived in the seventh century, and that it was told in his book *Israelite Traditions*, which included many Bible narratives from both Testaments. Stripped of its legendary accretions it is fully in the spirit of the Gospels.

(3) Again, if a passage comprises teaching which is alien to or actually opposed to Islam, this should clearly raise a query as to its possible Christian origin. It is, of course, not always certain what does contradict Islam, for the Quran and its commentators are not entirely consistent. But some

points do seem fairly definite, especially in regard to the asceticism which is so prominent in many of these sayings. Here Rendel Harris may be quoted.² He says that the Muhammadan ascetic writers 'reinforced their doctrine, for which there is little enough in the way of encouragement in the Koran, by an appeal to the authority and teaching of Jesus. This they could not have done if Jesus had not, for them, appeared in the light of an ascetic, or at least a mystical teacher. That sets one thinking at once. . . . Our own current interpretation of Jesus has always minimised the ascetic element in his teaching, and has made little of its mystical side. . . . Quite other appears to have been the view of the Sufi saints and confessors, as we shall see when we come to look at some of the sayings that they have conserved about him, or evolved from their inner consciousness as things which he ought to have said (perhaps did say in part).' To this may be added his comment on this striking passage:

'Have no regard to the riches of the Gentiles, who are of this world, for the dazzle of their riches will take away the light of your faith' (A 74; M 63).

'What makes me think this saying is genuine,' he says, 'is not merely its evident spiritual value, but the fact that it is expressed in biblical language. What has a Moslem to do with "riches of the Gentiles"? but it says in Isaiah, "Ye shall eat the riches of the Gentiles," and Jesus appears to be contradicting the prophecy and setting it on one side. It must be true.' This is an exaggerated statement, but there is certainly some force in his main contention.

(4) Finally, in a number of these sayings there is an aptness and conciseness of expression which reminds us forcibly of the precision and point so noticeable in many Gospel texts—there is just that fitness which marks so many canonical sayings of Jesus. They put aspects of the truth so well that, once known, they almost inevitably enter into our religious vocabulary. The following are a few examples:

'Take not the world for your lord, lest it take you for its slaves' (A 34; M 35).

'He who asks pardon from God for those who have done him injury puts an evil spirit to flight' (A 33; not in M).

'I indeed love poverty, riches I hold in hatred' (A 73; not in M).

¹ It will be convenient to make use of this obvious shorthand, A=Asin, M=Margoliouth.

² *Expositor*, August 1918.

'He who sows malice shall reap repentance' (A 140; not in M).

'Revere God in the secrecy of your hearts, as you revere him in public' (A 161; not in M).

'Beware of glances, for they plant passion in the heart, and that is a sufficient temptation' (A 23; M 27).

'Be in the midst, yet walk on one side' (M 3; not in A).

Of this last, Margoliouth remarks that the context in which it is quoted deals with cases in which it is necessary to avow friendship while concealing enmity. But it is, of course, quite possible for a saying to be quoted in a different sense from that intended, and the meaning here surely is that Christians are to be *in* the world but not *of* it; it suggests this truth so strikingly that it is not difficult to think it authentic.

Now, of course, none of these points amounts to demonstration, and it is not possible to accept any of the agrapha with complete confidence. But, at the same time, it certainly seems to me unsatisfactory just to rule them all out as imaginative exaggeration; I feel with Asin and Guillaume that there is something to be said for the hypothesis that genuine fragments are included, though it is not possible to attain any high degree of probability in the identification of them.

V.

We have now to take up and deal slightly with a point already mentioned. Reference was made above to Toland's theory that Muhammad and his successors were indebted to the 'Gospel of Barnabas' for their knowledge of Jesus; he asserted that during a brief examination of this rare work he had discovered several sayings of Jesus cited by Muhammadan writers, though not those quoted by LW. Without actually querying the good faith of this statement—which it is impossible to verify, as he gives no actual examples—it may now be definitely affirmed that his theory is unsound, and that whatever the source of the Muhammadan agrapha it was not this strange Gospel. The publication of it in 1907 by Lonsdale and Laura Ragg from the only known MS.—an Italian one lodged at Vienna—has settled many problems that had been raised by the previous scanty reference to it, amongst them this idea of Toland's. It may be regarded as proved that the book is a mediæval

Muhammadan romance, the work of some renegade Christian; there is no trace of an Arabic original, such as modern Muhammadans affirm exists, and the balance of evidence points to the probability that their knowledge of the work is actually the result of the remarks made by Sale in the introduction to his translation of the Quran. From a number of points the following may just be mentioned as conclusively proving that Toland was mistaken:

- (1) The stories of the nativity and boyhood of Jesus are almost exactly as in the canonical Gospels in contrast to the legendary tales of the Quran and the Hadith literature.
- (2) It contains several references to Gabriel, but none of these corresponds to the one familiar to us from these agrapha (M 1).
- (3) There is an odd suppression of all reference to John the Baptist, whereas he is a frequent figure in these sayings, as we have already seen.
- (4) I have been unable to identify in it *any* of the two hundred or more passages we have been considering in this article.

It is clear, then, that no light is to be gained from this document as to the original location of these Muhammadan agrapha, or the way in which they were transmitted to those who cited them.

This Gospel is, however, interesting in a different way. It is possible, though not proved, that this remarkable writer made use of an early apocryphal or gnostic work of the same name as that which he gave to his book; such a 'Gospel of Barnabas' is known to have existed in the fifth century,¹ and this hypothesis would account for several features of the work before us. The editors discuss the matter fully and seem inclined to accept the idea; they mention in particular as possibly belonging to such a *Grundschrift* some parables which they consider 'of great beauty' and alien to Muhammadan thought. I have quoted several of these elsewhere as conceivably therefore incorporating Christian teaching from an early date, or even vague recollections of what Jesus said, but the possibility is very remote and need not be further dwelt upon.²

¹ See Hastings' *D.B.* v. p. 438.

² See *The Unwritten Gospel*, chap. xxi.

Contributions and Comments.

St. Paul's Eucharist.

ACTS 20⁶⁻¹² is interesting: it gives us the earliest account we have of a Celebration of the Holy Communion: we have here a Celebration of the Holy Communion at which St. Paul was the Celebrant. The hour at which the service was held is noteworthy—close after midnight or very early in the morning. It has been inferred, because the Holy Communion was on this occasion held after midnight and very early in the morning, that such was the usual hour for the Holy Communion in the earliest years of Church history. It is the purpose of this note to point out that this inference is very doubtful, as it overlooks a fact which lies on the surface of the narrative.

At the time represented by Acts 20 the Lord's Day or the Christian Sunday began, according to Jewish custom, at sunset. The exact hour at which the Lord's Day services were held is uncertain, but it must have been sometime after sunset. Whether the Agape preceded or followed the Breaking of the Bread is disputed, but one point is clear—the service of prayer, praise, and preaching preceded the Breaking of the Bread. The exact time, therefore, of the Breaking of the Bread depended on the length of the preceding service of prayer, praise, and preaching. On this occasion the preliminary service was of unusual length: it was prolonged by the length of St. Paul's sermon and by the accident to Eutychus: we are told as if it were something exceptional that 'Paul was long preaching' and that he 'continued his speech until midnight.' It was owing therefore to these two causes—the length of St. Paul's sermon and the accident to Eutychus, that the Breaking of the Bread took place after midnight or very early in the morning; for, if St. Paul had preached a sermon of ordinary length, and if the accident to Eutychus had not taken place, the service of the Breaking of the Bread would have been held sooner, before midnight, and not very early in the morning. The true inference, therefore, from this passage seems to be that the usual hour for the Celebration of the Holy Communion in the earliest years of Church history was not very early in the morning but very late in the evening. It was not until the Church adopted the Roman custom of beginning the day at midnight that an early morning hour became the usual time for the Breaking of the Bread.

W. E. P. COTTER.

Edinburgh.

Note on Luke ii. 49.

THE reason for Mary's anxiety is easily understood, but we do not so readily perceive what moved Jesus to make the reply, 'Did you not know I had to be at my Father's?' These words suggest she might have inferred where He would be, when His whereabouts in Jerusalem were unknown. It is a strange beginning to the *Divine* story of Jesus' life. It would undoubtedly come from the lips of Mary. Its strangeness is a strong guarantee for its historicity. Inference and imagination may have a place in helping to a true interpretation of the first recorded words of Jesus.

They are spoken in the Temple at a Passover feast. To all pious Jews a visit to Jerusalem then was uplifting. Jesus, now a boy of twelve, came to this feast, mayhap was in the capital for the first time. He was now at the age to take His place as a responsible worshipper in the courts of the Temple. Like all well-taught children of a godly home He would be glad to go up to the house of God. He would be glad to think of God's loving-kindness in the courts of His Temple. He would have been told by His mother of souls thirsting for God. When now in Jerusalem He was present where He Himself could behold the beauty of the Lord, inquire in His Temple, worship in the beauty of holiness, get the blessing they received that rightly approached God in His holy place, Jesus would expect a blessing there as no doubt Mary said she had received on her visits. In Jesus' life, the beauty of Nature, its majesty and kindliness, had entered His soul as He roamed the country round Nazareth. In His communion with Nature He was so near the warm heart of God, He could almost feel it beat. He would expect the impression to be much deeper when He communed in God's chosen dwelling with the Father of Spirits.

He who spoke to Samuel at the ark (1 S 3), to Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, and other prophets, seems to have spoken to the heart of Mary's child at this visit, and revealed that He was in a special sense God's Son. If on one able to grasp sublime ideas, a great thought dawns, it can touch the depth of his being, can be a master-principle in life. This revelation filled the heart and thought of Jesus. It ruled in all His movements ever after. When this child of God, God's Son, as was no other child in human form, entered the Temple, He felt

remarkably at home, as much so as, or perhaps more than, in Joseph's house at Nazareth. The new relation evoked engrossing thoughts. The communion with God, following His reception of sonship, was so entrancing all else was forgotten. New vistas were opening, mighty deeds disclosed. The new relation brought a higher, deeper love that met the new needs. There was thus excluded for the time thought about the days. He could but continue engrossed with His Father's presence. It thus came about that when the day came for return, He was not with Joseph and Mary when they set out for Nazareth. They thought, as other parents would, that He was with other boys of their familiar acquaintance, as no doubt He had been often. When He did not appear, they began a search, and with growing anxiety, as it proved of no avail. Returned to Jerusalem, they heard of a wondrous boy in the Temple, and on going there found to their amazement their child sitting amid the teachers of the Law. In her maternal grief Mary gives vent to her annoyance, and the reply Jesus gives is, she might have known where He was to be found when in Jerusalem.

How was it so? Mary, like all pious Jewish mothers, had often talked of the Temple in Zion, of the wonders of grace shown by Jehovah to His people. Would not the hearts of mother and child have been enraptured at remembrance of the deliverances recalled by the past days? Had not Mary seen her boy's face glow as they talked of these events? What joy it would be to join the thanksgiving on the day of solemn assembly. Mary could learn from the deep questions Jesus put, many of which she might not answer, how eager her Son was to know about the ways of God. Did not, now and again, they agree they would need to get the answer from some doctor of the law? Such experiences make Jesus' reply at once natural and intelligible.

But now about Mary's inability to think in this way? Mary was a woman with a heart touched by and responsive to the Divine. But she was a woman of her age and race. She looked for a Messiah after the flesh. This coloured her interpretation of the angel message that God would give her Son the throne of His father David. Her heart was too little Divine, too satisfied with current forms of religion to be like Psalmist and prophet thirsting for the living God. She had not Jesus' spirituality, and so she never divined how He was drawn to God when God was seen in His Sanctuary by souls longing to behold His face. Yet Jesus thinks that from what she had seen of

Him, what His words and longings and questions showed, that when He had the opportunity He was sure to use it, to be as much as possible in the house of God. Such views make the words of both Jesus and His mother natural in the circumstances of their meeting in the Temple at that time.

If the view is correct that holds it was at this Passover that Jesus first knew Himself to be in a special sense God's Son, v.⁵¹ is set in a wondrous light. Jesus, knowing this relationship, goes back to do His mother's messages and help in Joseph's workshop. It is God's will that every son of His should learn from Jesus' demeanour to be filial in his home, however lowly that be. Such conduct shows a Divine spirit.

One cannot help joining these first words with the cry at the last, 'My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' The love of the Father, first known at this Passover in great fulness, grew ever better known in the years that followed. What agony when it clouded! What love to the Father when it held on to bearing and doing His will on the cross when He had to feel forsaken! How dread the strength of sin that could be broken only by a love so mighty!

G. PHILIP ROBERTSON.

Edinburgh.

The Unjust Steward.

THE Parable of the Unjust Steward bristles with difficulties, it is true, but these are not confined to our Lord's use of such a parable at all, and the ordinary view as to the application He extracts from it. They are found also in the picture He seems to paint of the complacency of the rich man in the face of the writing down of his assets by his debtors, and the consequent loss of anything from twenty to fifty per cent. of his takings on these accounts. A further difficulty lies in attempting to believe that debtors would have the effrontery to withdraw that proportion of their commitments in the very presence of the man most concerned. Such things do not happen in the East to-day, and we are safe in holding that they did not happen then.

The construction of a parable so far removed from the actualities of the situation is altogether opposed to the method of our Lord as we see it in the other works of this great Master of Parables.

I suggest that underlying this parable is a recognized custom of the time, acquaintance with which was assumed by our Lord on the part of

His hearers. To understand the custom is to get at the heart of the Parable, and to understand its application.

The situation seems to be as follows. The rich man is a wholesale seller of wheat and olive oil—not a ‘merchant’ who trades in small quantities of jewels or other commodities. To attend to the details of the business is not his forte, perhaps not even his inclination. In this department he employs a managing clerk or steward (Moffatt, ‘factor’). The salary which the clerk receives is not adequate to the scale of living which he has set for himself as an employee of so great a ‘House.’ He has been ‘making the money fly,’ as did the Prodigal in his spacious days. But what money? The gossips of the town said that it was his master’s. He, however, knew that it was not, and at the clearing up his master learned it also. So too did the clients when their turn came, and to their great satisfaction. The money with which he was playing had been obtained in what Eastern custom regarded as a perfectly legitimate way; in fact through the operation of a system known farther east as ‘squeeze,’ by which a man paid himself wholly or in part by what he could get over and above the stated charges. The publicans practised it under Roman rule, and were not hated for that. The only condemnation which arose was when they carried it too far. This the steward does not seem to have done. It is no part of the indictment against him, for rates of interest range high in the East. In return for the palpable advantages of reasonable prices and timely accommodation he had added his own percentage of squeeze to the amount which they owed to the master, and they entered the totals with their own hand, not forgetful of the benefits which the percentage represented. It was what they would call a fair deal, or at least a legitimate one.

And the master thought so too, for his only concern was that the bonds in hand should tally with the goods which had left his store.

But the day of reckoning came at last. Gossip might be a lying jade, but she pointed to practices so clever as to make it uncertain just how far the man would go. Might he not some day overstep the rather blurred line between *meum* and *tuum*, and at last be caught with his hand in his master’s pocket? The risk was too great; he must go.

But even in his fall he remains a clever man. He cannot afford to get at cross-purposes with his employer, for there were ‘extortioners’ in those days, official extortioners of whom he was not one. And, on the other hand, there was poverty to face

if he, with only one talent and no field for the exercise of it, were to go out into the world friendless and alone. So he summons the clients, and one by one he hands them back their bond, and gets them to write out of the bill the percentage which he had charged for his favours, and to which they had consented. By this stroke of magnanimity he secures their friendship—for what it is worth, our Lord subtly reminds us—and leaves his master, without a stain upon his character. A truly clever man! A typical ‘child of this generation.’

With this in mind the application becomes obvious, and wholly consistent with our Lord’s teaching elsewhere. ‘You can gather to yourself useful and even helpful friendships if you will make “filthy lucre” your servant and instrument. But bear always in mind that such gains can only be as lasting as the money itself—a tent which, though it bear the name of “eternal,” must some day, and certainly, be dissolved. But remember that even this getting has its dangers. The art may grip you, and its rewards be your only prize. But for My followers there is better far than that, the True Eternal, and this will come to him who sets his heart upon the highest, and bends to its pursuit those talents which the children of this world waste on the “eternal tents.”’

J. STEELE.

Ipswich.

St. Paul and Empedocles.

Most commentators in dealing with 1 Co 2⁹, ‘As it is written, Eye hath not seen . . .’ refer to the question of the source of the quotation. Some point to Is 62¹⁵ 64²⁻⁴ 65⁷ for some verbal similarities, though admittedly there is no similarity in thought. Others refer to the Apocalypse of Elias as the source of the quotation, or if not a source, then a duplicate quotation from some unknown writing. Generally, however, the problem as to the source is given up as unsolved.

Now the late Professor S. H. Butcher in his book on *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, has as the first essay, ‘What we owe to Greece.’ Speaking therein (p. 4) of Empedocles he quotes from some fragments presumably as follows:

τὸ δ' ὅλον μᾶψ εὔχεται εὔρείν
οὔτως οὔτ' ἐπιδερκτὰ τὰδ' ἀνδράσιν
οὔτ' ἐπακουστὰ οὔτε νόψ περι ληπτὰ.

This he translates (who, knowing nothing)—‘boast that they have found out the whole—an

idle boast; for this the eye of man hath not seen, nor hath his ear heard, nor can his mind conceive it.'

I do not remember having seen any reference made to this quotation, though the eagle eye of Dr. Rendel Harris will have surely seen it long ago.

On the other hand, the Bampton Lecturer for 1926 states confidently (p. 99) that, apart from 1 Co 15³³, 'St. Paul nowhere in his Epistles betrays any acquaintance with any work of Greek literature.'

D. JOHN.

Gowerton, S. Wales.

Entre Nous.

Friedrich von Hügel.

In July of last year a volume of *Selected Letters, 1896-1924*, and prefixed with a Memoir by Bernard Holland, was published by Messrs. Dent (21s. net). Already, in the beginning of 1928, a reprint has been necessary. So far as incident goes, von Hügel's life was uneventful and it is hardly necessary to recapitulate it. His father was an Austrian; at the time of Friedrich's birth he was minister at Florence at the court of the Grand Duke. His mother was a Scottish woman. When Friedrich was fifteen the family came to England, and after that he spent most of his time in this country, although he only became naturalized after the outbreak of war. All his life he was associated with the Modernist party in the Roman Catholic Church, Father Tyrrell being his greatest friend. The Church that he loved did not cast him out as it did Tyrrell, but ceaseless care was necessary. Dom Butler, writing in the *Tablet* after his death, said: 'The Authorities no doubt knew the religious influence he was wielding in circles outside the Catholic Church, and did not think it advisable that that influence should be weakened, or that work impeded, especially as the writings were of a kind little likely to be read by many beyond those for whom they were intended; and also the Authorities well knew the man himself. . . . Von Hügel was a quite extraordinary religious influence, bringing home persuasively to minds enmeshed in the theories of Pantheism, Monism, Idealism, Materialism, all the various philosophical misbeliefs that hold captive such great tracts of the modern thinking mind, the great theistic truth of the transcendent, spiritual, personal God, and man's relation to Him. The range of his influence over religious philosophical thought in Great Britain, in America, and also in Germany, may be gauged by the sale of his books, phenomenal in the case of such very tough reading, calling for equally tough thinking.'

The influence which he exercised over the widest religious circles is the more remarkable when we remember how small was his literary output. He was almost sixty when his first important work appeared, 'The Mystical Element of Religion.' His third work was 'The German Soul,' and this was followed by two volumes of Essays and Addresses, the last published posthumously. His second work was 'Eternal Life.' The inception of this was due to Dr. Hastings, who commissioned him to write an article on the subject for the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS*. In September 21st, 1911, he says: 'I am now again hard at it—this time at a paper on "Eternal Life" for Hastings' *Encyclopædia*.' But the subject got hold of his mind to such an extent that when it came in it was hopelessly long. Even in a work which gave a most liberal allowance of space to important subjects, sixty double-column pages, which is what this article would have taken, was found impossible. A happy solution was the publication of 'Eternal Life' in book form by Messrs. T. & T. Clark.

Mr. Claude Montefiore, speaking of the Baron's writings on one occasion, said: 'But the books, great as they may be, are but a fraction of the man. The great scholar-saint was much more than any book, and a much greater evidence than any written words of the God in Whom he so passionately believed. In spite of all the appalling perplexities of evil, I find it harder still to think of von Hügel as a toss up. Somehow for such souls as his, one seems to need God to account for them.'

There is no space to go into von Hügel's teaching. Of religion he once said, it is not 'worth much unless it produces heroic acts.' He found seven great heroic virtues—courage, purity, compassion, humility, truthfulness, self-abandonment in the hands of God, and spiritual joy. The essence of religion lay for him not only in heroic virtue, but also in adoration. Speaking to Mrs. Cecil Chapman

on one occasion of the effort which it cost him to get his mind to work on his book, he got on to the subject of Parkman's long writing on Canadian history. He described how Parkman never spared himself. "And yet," said the Baron, "it wasn't Religion. There was no Religion in the hard work and sacrifice."

"What is Religion, then?" I asked.

"Religion is Adoration," answered the Baron.

"I have thought of it ever since."

Von Hügel was a man with a most winning personality and he had friends in all communions. But we are brought up short with a sense of dismay when we find that, sitting on the Committee in 1917 on the Army and Religion, although he could go a little further than Shylock and eat and drink with his fellow-members, he could not pray with them. 'I have carefully noted how frequent, and how fairly prolonged is going to be joint prayer at the meeting. I am, of course, *most* glad and grateful that this is so. But it has occurred to me that you might be willing—that you might possibly even like—that I should say some words—give some explanation of, or interpretation to, my abstention, not from praying for our work, nor from praying at those special times for it, but from joining in the same room with all of you. I may not do that. But I think I could say some words that would combine loyalty to Rome with other things which you would all fully like and endorse.'

Most charming of all his personal letters is a series to his niece, to whom he acted as spiritual guide. It is from one of these that we have quoted below.

The Stress of Dryness and Darkness.

'Let me give you three images, all of which have helped me on along "many a flinty furlong." At 18 I learnt from Father Raymond Hocking, that grandly interior-minded Dominican, that I certainly could, with God's grace, give myself to Him, and strive to live my life along with Him and for Him. But that this would mean winning and practising much desolation—that I would be climbing a mountain where, off and on, I might be enveloped in mist for days on end, unable to see a foot before me. Had I noticed how mountaineers climb mountains? How they have a quiet, regular short step—on the level it looks petty; but then this step they keep up, on and on as they ascend, whilst the inexperienced townsman hurries along, and soon has to stop, dead beat with the climb. That such an expert mountaineer, when the thick mists come, halts and camps out

under some slight cover brought with him, quietly smoking his pipe, and moving on only when the mist has cleared away.

'Then in my thirties I utilised another image, learnt in my Jesuit Retreats. How I was taking a long journey on board ship with great storms pretty sure ahead of me; and how I must now select, and fix in my little cabin, some few but entirely appropriate things—a small trunk fixed up at one end, a chair that would keep its position, tumbler and glass that would do ditto: all this, simple, strong, and selected throughout in view of stormy weather. So would my spirituality have to be chosen and cultivated, especially in view of "dirty" weather.

'And lastly, in my forties another image helped me—they all three are in pretty frequent use still!—I am travelling on a camel across a huge desert. Windless days occur and then all is well. But hurricanes of wind will come, unforeseen, tremendous. What to do then? It is very simple, but it takes much practice to do well at all. Dismount from the camel, fall prostrate face downwards on the sand, covering your head with your cloak. And lie thus, an hour, three hours, half a day; the sand storm will go, and you will arise, and continue your journey as if nothing had happened. The old Uncle has had many, many such sand storms. How immensely useful they are!'¹

'Blessed are they that mourn.'

'Some of your personal troubles are altogether mysterious. They have come upon you, so far as you honestly know, through no fault or transgression of your own. But, quite frankly, I know in my own case, that it is not so with the bulk of them. I can look back quite clearly to foolish things I did, neglectful things, ungenerous, mad, simply bad things, from which my abiding cares derive. At the time I did them, and afterwards, my impulse was to slur it over, to make as light of it as I could, to repress it, to push it out of mind and out of conscience. And this became a habit with me, it grew with practice. Why not?—it was the easier way, the world's way. The world said to me, "That's the sensible way; the thing's done, and there's an end on't; don't worry about it; let the dead past bury its dead!" But the world is all wrong. A voice within my heart cries out against that worldly wisdom as an accursed thing. I don't require any of the "new psychol-

¹ Baron Friedrich von Hügel, *Selected Letters*, 1896-1924, 304.

ogies" to tell me what a disease a repressed "complex," as they call it, can become. I know it. I know whenever I descend below the threshold of my heart that the great bulk of my fretfulness and wistfulness of spirit, the dispeace that eats at my mind in wakeful watches of the night, is all due to what I have described, is due to the fact that when I did that foolish, mad, or bad thing, *I did not mourn*. If only when I did the thing, in that hot fit or in that secret and graceless hour, I had faced it and gripped it by the throat and wrestled with it, and had it out in my naked conscience, and spread it out in all its ugliness before the face of God, and baptized it with the tears of my heart, and repented of it, and set about making reparations where reparations were possible, and made vows to God, and took God as my help—do I not know, as surely as I am a living soul, that I had been comforted to-day instead of being the fretted and haunted spirit that I am ?

This quotation is from a volume of 'The Scottish Layman's Library,' two other volumes of which have been reviewed this month. The title is *The Heraldry of His Disciples*, and the author, the Rev. A. Boyd Scott, M.C., D.D. It is a fair sample of Dr. Boyd Scott's suggestive treatment, and will probably make many readers turn to the little book in which he makes an effort to restore the everyday use of the fighting value of the Heraldry of His disciples. 'He would have His disciples evince in these modern days, as practically as the first disciples showed in Galilee, the signs He designed for His knightly order, when He created it. Still He calls them the Uplifted Lamp, the City Ouverte, the Crucifer, the Ready Sickle, the Sheep Sequent, and the like.' The price is only 5s. net, and the publishers are Messrs. T. & T. Clark.

Egbert Sandford.

LISTENING TO THE WIND.

God is at the Organ !
I can hear
A mighty music
Echoing, far and near.

God is at the Organ !
And its keys
Are rolling waters, storm-strewn moorlands,
Trees.

God is at the Organ !
I can hear
A mighty music
Echoing, far and near.

In a comparatively recent American Anthology, 'Listening to the Wind' was attributed to Joyce Kilmer, and we are glad to have this opportunity of pointing out that it is Mr. Sandford's work. Mr. Sandford is a careful workman who gets his effects with the minimum of words. Here are delightful little cameos. Some of the poems are faintly reminiscent of James Stephens. Many are eminently quotable. Take 'Sheep and Shepherd':

The Shepherd's work was done.
The sheep were safe
Within the fold—
Ninety-and-nine, and one.

But, he had paid the cost
Of climbing step—
Of daring flood and frost.

The sheep were safe
Within the fold ;
The Shepherd ? . . . He was lost.

We have quoted enough to show what Mr. Sandford's work is. No ; we must quote still another :

THE HILL : CALLED NORBURY.

I seldom pass
This wind-torn tree ;
Or walk this hill ;
Or tread this grass.

But, I do see
Another Tree—
Another Hill—
Another Grass . . .

The title of the volume is *Poems*, and the publishers Messrs. Burns, Oates & Washbourne (5s. net).

Printed by MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED, Tanfield Works,
and Published by T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street,
Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to THE EDITOR, Kings
Gate, Aberdeen, Scotland.